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कां सोस्मितां हिरण्यप्राकारामार्द्रां ज्वलन्तीं तृप्तां तर्पयन्तीम् ।
पद्मे स्थितां पद्मवर्णां तमिहोपह्वये श्रियम् ।।

अतुलित-बल-धामं हेम-शैलाभ-देहं
दनुज-वन-कृशानुं ज्ञानिनामग्रगण्यम् ।
सकल-गुण-निधानं वानराणामधीशं
रघुपति-प्रिय-भक्तं वातजातं नमामि ।।

पितरौ वन्दे ।

Preface

The studies in the present work are part of my ongoing research project sanctioned by the U.G.C. They attempt an integrated historical and cultural account of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* tradition as a part of ancient Indian society. Ancient Indian theatre was a harmony of drama, dance and music. Drama represented social life and values in the light of traditional ideas and conventions. Dance and music not only aided drama, but were in themselves among the most important aspects of a cultural tradition which harmonised the folk and the elite and, thus, at the same time, creative impulse and critical form.

A few of these studies viz., the chabters 3,4,9 and 13 have been published earlier in journals but have been included with some revision. The study in chapter 16 has been accepted for publication by the *Buddhist Literary Review*, London.

I am deeply beholden to the University Grants Commission for enrolling me to work as a Research Scientist and to the Deptt. of Ancient History, Culture and Archaeology (University of Allahabad) for providing me research facilities for my work. I am also thankful to the authorities of the Allahabad Museum for their assitance. Among the many scholars who have helped me, I must mention specially the names of Professors B.N.S. Yadav, U.N. Roy and S.C. Bhattacharya and Dr. S.P. Gupta.

I am thankful to my husband Shri D.P. Pande for encouragement, patience and looking after my 'logistic' problems with his usual efficiency. And finally, I must thank Dr. Shankar Goyal for taking care of the publication of the work with all the tedious responsibility that it involves.

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Contents

Abbreviations

AB	: *Abhinavabhāratī*
Abhiṣeka.	: *Abhiṣekanāṭaka*
Avi.	: *Avimāraka*
Bāla.	: *Bālacarita*
BKSS	: *Bṛhatkathāślokasaṁgraha*
Cāru.	: *Cārudatta*
Daśa.	: *Daśakumāracarita*
Dūta.	: *Dūtavākya*
HC	: *Harṣacarita*
Karpūra.	: *Karpūramañjarī*
Kāvya.	: *Kāvyādarśa*
Kirāta.	: *Kirātārjunīyam*
KM	: *Kuṭṭinī-matam*
Kumāra.	: *Kumārasaṁbhava*
Madhyama.	: *Madhyamavyāyoga*
Mālavikā.	: *Mālavikāgnimitram*
Mṛcch.	: *Mṛcchakaṭikam*
NC	: *Niśithacūrṇi*
NŚ	: *Nāṭyaśāstra*
Pratijñā.	: *Pratijñāyaugandharāyaṇa*
Pratimā.	: *Pratimānāṭaka*
Raghu.	: *Raghuvaṁśa*
Saundara.	: *Saundarananda*
Śiśu.	: *Śiśupālavadha*
Uru.	: *Urubhaṅga*
Uttara.	: *Uttararāmacarita*
Vāsava.	: *Svapnavāsavadattā*

Chapter 1

Introduction

There are two distinct approaches to art which may be compendiously described as aesthetic-critical and socio-historical. The former approach seeks to evaluate the work of art as an aesthetic object, the latter as a social object. Since aesthetic creativity and social work are not separable, the work of art is at once the result of creative imagination as well as of socially valued labour. A full consideration of the work of art consequently must in some sense combine two disparate sets of categories—value and utility, expression and causation, individual experience and social co-operation. Even in the simplest object of pre-historic art, whether a cave painting or a terracotta figurine or ceramic, the two aspects are inevitably joined together. The artist fulfills himself while performing a social role, what he creates has some status as a useful object within the network of social functions but it goes beyond its instrumental character and also has an intrinsic value.

The awareness of this distinct intrinsic value of an art object has sometimes fostered the illusion that the maximisation of aesthetic value might be achieved by its isolation from its instrumental or social functional aspect. Thus one could separate the art of decoration from the potters art to a certain extent, but even undecorated pots have to have a diversity of forms which can hardly be concieved in a purely functional manner. Nor could decorative bands and designs be impressive in themselves without the limitations imposed by a background. A pure musical note may be given out by a tuning folk but it does constitute musical richness. The autonomy or purity of an art object is not properly constituted by its isolation from social or cultural context. It is for this reason that the whole attempt to build a purely formal science of criticism can only end up in empty formalism or rhetoric.

The fact is that aesthetic value itself has two distinct components—one lies in the skill with which the artist uses his resources. The other lies in the values—social cultural, ideological—which the work as a whole expresses. Of these two components of aesthetic value the former could be called largely formal, the latter expressive significance. More strictly, the two aspects of form and significance

are combined by expressiveness which may be described as the essential characteristic of art. Thus *śabda*, *guṇa*, *rīti*, *alaṁkāra* may be described as the formal aspects of poetry while *bhāva* and *rasa* are elements of its significance. The two are joined together by *dhvani* or *vyañjanā*. Even in a formal art like music while *svara* and *tāla* constitute its body, *rāga* is more than these elements and along with *bhāva* and *rasa* may be categorised as significance. It may be clarified, however, that feeling or significance in music need not be of the same defined kind as in the verbal arts. It is truest of music, to adapt the words of Collingwood, that it gives a deep sense of significance without stating what that significance is. Similarly, it touches the heart but unless words are used or a conventional context is present, the feelings remain somewhat nebulous. The connection of aesthetic value with social function is made not only through the expressed significance of the art object but also in terms of the social demand for challenge which it seeks to meet. It is not the case that if a society were to formally create a distinct leisured class of artists who were left totally free without any social demands than art would be best served. While the excellence of art has no direct connection with social uses, demands and challenges, they do enter into it indirectly. Shakespeare produced his plays for a professional theatre but his plays seem up the consciousness of mankind. It was not merely ephemeral entertainment nor abstract formalism.

Thus, a proper approach to art should include a consideration of the form and significance of its expressiveness as well as a social and cultural context which complete its being. A full approach to art must include a consideration of the rhythm of its structural elements, its expression or representation of reality—natural, human or superhuman—and value and, finally, its human and social relevance.

Thus, if we compare the Besnagara *Yakṣiṇī*, the Sārnāth Buddha or a bronze Naṭarāja of the Cola Age, they have obvious differences, not merely in their technique and form but in conception of the internal energy or being which is to be expressed in terms of outward form one emphasizes massive dynanism, another still repose a third the virtual identity of dynanism and repose. They, however, differ not merely in their expressiveness and form but in their evocativeness with reference to their festive, meditative or ritual employment.

It is, therefore, necessary to avoid the divide between the aesthetic and the historical. We must remember that no criticism can limit itself within the boundaries of a single work of art. Willy-nilly, it has to make comparisons and import matters of social

relevance. Similarly, merely social and historical analysis misses the hero in the play. In the historiography of Indian art, this warning is specially needed, because while traditional criticism was largely formal, modern accounts rarely go beyond the most obvious facts of materials, techniques, themes and social use. They rarely seek to analyse the uniqueness of old works of art and the non-formal or unusual features which give them excellence.

While the visual and literary arts have received a good deal of attention from ancient Indian historians, archaeologists and Sanskritists, the performing arts have been relatively neglected. On the theatre and drama many distinguished scholars have considered the historical questions involved in their origins and development. For example, Sylvan Levi, Keith, De and Kane have written on drama; Mankad, Tarlekar, G.K. Bhat and Manmohan Ghose have given attention to the theatre. On dance, the sole work of importance is by Dr. Kapila Vatsyayan. On music, too, competent works are very few e.g., of Acharya Brihaspati, Mukund Lath, Dr. Premlata Sharma and Swami Prajnanand. But these works are largely focussed on the technical aspects of the arts or on their historical origins. They do not take up the social background or significance of these arts as their primary theme, while our work seeks to relate the arts to social and cultural history in an integral manner.

In viewing the *Nāṭyaśāstra* tradition in the context of social history, it is necessary to relate the technical works of *nāṭya* with their practical embodiment in dramatic literature. In fact, dramatic theory and practice cannot be kept apart. Again, in studying dramatic works and their social representation, one must necessarily delve into other literary and ancillary works. *Nāṭya* and *Kāvya* were not treated as substantially distinct in the critical tradition which developed in post-Bharata times and their complete synthesis was achieved in Abhinavagupta. Nor indeed can ancient Indian social history be elucidated without the help of archaeological sources. The present work, therefore, attempts to understand the *Nāṭyaśāsta* tradition in the context of ancient Indian social history both as its source and product. By its very nature, as a research work it has a certain piecemeal character since it is designed as a series of integrated studies into different facets of the practical and theoretical tradition of the performing arts within the concrete social reality of men and manners, fashions and skills.

Chapter 2

Natya : Meaning and Context

In this Chapter it is argued that the meaning of *Nāṭya* understood within the context of Bharata still provides a window to what may be called Universal Aesthetic.

Our understanding of meaning ranges over two levels, superficial and profound. For example, one may know that Delhi is the name of this town, or that there is an object in the garden called 'a tree' or that the meaning of the word 'parallel' is demonstrated by railway tracks, but that does not imply that one knows much about Delhi or about trees or parallel lines. One may use such words without knowing their meaning as a specialist. It may be said that while the meaning of a word is in general a construct used in different contexts, these contexts exist at different levels. Meanings are not independent, real objects but rather thought constructs of which the greater part remains concealed from general view as is in the case with icebergs. This can be seen clearly about words with empirical or ideal meanings like 'trees' or 'parallel lines' which require for their full understanding the knowledge of science. Now, the world of culture, too, is populated by historical constructs of social experience, meanings which are behavioural or creative. Where they are constructs of creative value-seeking they are not exhausted by historical particularity or past social conventions since they seek to express some experience of values or ideal goals and standards. It follows that in seeking to understand the meaning of cultural terms we must relate their historical articulations to their referents which are ultimately modes of self consciousness. That is to say the *lakṣaṇa* in these cases is only a faint approximation of *lakṣyas*. If this is not done, our understanding will remain at conventional, formal levels and would miss the creative value-seeking underlying cultural meaning constructs. The remarks of the late Pandita Rajarajeshwara Sastri Dravida only recently published in Sanskrit may be quoted here with profit: "Insight or understanding is two fold, one in terms of divisible characteristics and the other in terms of integral character". "Where the nature of the object of understanding cannot be analysed or enacted as in a dramatic play, it may be said to be an integral character. If the meaning can be

analytically explained, it may be said to be the logical clarification of insight." He goes on to explain that the two have no necessary connection. Hence, there are three types of understanding, merely acquaintance with the object and the combination of the two and he quotes—

Lakṣaṇajño nikṛṣṭastu lakṣyavedī ca madhyamaḥ/
Ubhayaṁ yo vijānāti sa uttama iti smṛtaḥ//[1]

To this one may add that in the case of cultural terms and objects, both *lakṣya* and *lakṣaṇa* subsist within a historical tradition. In the cultural world there are no purely logical forms or *lakṣaṇas*. Nor are there *lakṣya* empirically accessible without traditional apperception. Thus, you cannot derive music from definitions nor appreciate it without musical education.

Now, three aspects of *Nāṭya* are well-known. It was regarded as a form of popular entertainment, as delectable moral instruction and as an aesthetic creation with its distinctive flavour. How these different aspects without any essential connection may characterize the same object, has been a standing puzzle. Acrobatic spectacles provide entertainment but no instruction. *Hitopadeśa* provides instruction but has no aesthetic flavour. Pure formal music or dance may provide pure delectation but has no connection with meaning, much less a moral meaning. Yet *Nāṭya* in Bharata entertains, instructs and transports as if *Nauṭankī*, *Rāmalīlā* and *Pāther Pañcālī* were rolled into one essential unity or as if song, dance and drama were to be integrated into one. This puzzle can be resolved only by the context of *Nāṭya* as multilevel and multidimensional.

We may begin by briefly glancing at the etymology of *Nāṭya* since etymology often reveals the palaeontology of meanings. Pāṇini (4,3,129) derives *Nāṭya* from *naṭa* by the suffix *ñya*. According to *Kāśikā* the suffix must be deemed to apply in the sense of *dharma* and *āmnāya*, that is to say, *Nāṭya* would mean the ethos or laws and tradition of *naṭas*. As is well-known, Pāṇini (4,3,110) also mentions *Naṭasūtras* authored by 'Śilāli'. Similarly, Kṛśāśva was another author of such *Sūtras* (*ibid.*, 4,3,11). These texts had a Vedic dignity and were regularly studied by *naṭas* who were parallel to *bhikṣus*. It may be recalled that Abhinavagupta describes *Nāṭya* as the traditional and sacred lore of the *naṭas*—

naṭānāṁ paramparyātmakaṁ vṛttaṁ nāṭyaṁ dharamāmnāyarūpam[2]

But who were the *naṭas* ? Pāṇini shows them to be an organised and educated group with a sacred tradition of their own. On the other hand, *naṭas* have been portrayed as vagrant acrobats, dancers and actors.[3] The root *naṭ* which might have been connected with *nṛt*

has been given the meaning of acrobatic movements, dancing and miming. Thus we hear of *naṭ nāṭye, naṭ avaskandane, naṭ bhāṣāyam, naṭ nṛtau, naṭ caraṇe, naṭ naṭau.* It is obvious that the original meaning of *naṭ*, probably connected with *nṛt*, was generally eclipsed by a variety of uses to which it was put in course of time.

While technical treatises distinguish between dance and drama, *nṛtya* and *nāṭya*, they bring them together through the intermediate concept of *nṛtya. Amarakoṣa* (1,7,10) gives the more popular usage of '*nāṭya*' which was sometimes identified with dance in its several varities, sometimes with that combination of dance and music which was otherwise called *saṅgīta– Tāṇḍayaṁ naṭānam nāṭyaṁ lasyaṁ ca nartane. Tauryatrikam nṛtyagītavādyaṁ nāṭvamidam tryam.*

Bharata speaks of *Nāṭya* as governed by a sacred *tradition of wisdom* i.e. as *Nāṭyaveda*, of *Nāṭva* as entertainment of ears and eyes. *Krīḍāniyakamicchāmo dṛṣyam śravyaṁ ca yadbhavet* (*NŚ*, I, 11), as imitation of the three worlds, of good as well evil and diverse human experiences.[4] It is even called *itihāsa.*[5] The *Abhinavabhārati* explains *itihāsa* as *daśarūpaka* and its concept as that of a moral spectacle.[6] Again, *Nāṭya* includes *rasa*, *bhāva*, *dhvani*, *pravṛtti*, *siddhi*, *svara*, *ātodya*, *gāna* and *raṅga.*[7] Of these, *rasa* is the primary element—'*nahi rasādṛte kaścidarthaḥ pravartate*', which is defined by the famous *rasa sūtra: tatra vibhavānubhāvavyabhicārisaṁyogād rasaniṣpattiḥ.*

Nāṭya, thus, is an entertaining spectacle, including song, dance, and drama, an instructive imitation, and a unique delectation called *rasa*. Abhinavagupta says : "*Nāṭya* has the nature of *rasa, rasasvabhāvam*, and is the immediate object of a unique experience, *saṁvedyaṁ vastu*. The object is different from all empirical objects, *laukikapadārthavyatirekte*, and, is not their imitation, reflection, picture, resemblance, superimposition, imagination, dream, delusion or magic—*Tadanukārapratibimbālekhya sādṛśyāropadhyavasyāvotprekṣāsvapnamayendrajālādivilakṣaṇam* (*Nāṭyaśāstra*, I, p. 3). Nor is the experience one of right knowledge, error, doubt, undefined or undecided apprehension but is of the nature of enjoyment or relishing— *Samyagajñānabhrāntisaṁśayānavadharāṇānadhyavasāyavijñānabhinnavṛttāntasvādanarūpasaṁvedanam* (*i.c.*). It must be recalled that following his teacher Abhinavagupta totally rejects the notion of imitation in the ordinary sense. Imitation of another can only make one ridiculous. *Nāṭya* is really of the nature of intuition following inward reflection or introspection—*Tadidam anukīrtananam anuvyavasāyaviśeṣo nāṭyāparaparyāyaḥ iti bhramitavyam* (*ibid.*, p.3).

Sāsātkārakalpānuvyavasāyagocarakāryatvaṁ ca nāṭyasya lakṣaṇa-mityavocām (*Ibid.*, p. 177).[8]

Nāṭya, thus, is a triune unity of music, dance and drama, entertaining, delighting and instructing, unlike as for some modern thinkers.[9] According to *Nāṭyaśāstra* tradition, if the three are separated, they fall from their proper ideal stature. The fact is that the purity of an art form is not the same as its perfection. It is only in the world of logical and mathematical forms that what distinguishes one form from another also constitutes its sole essence. It is hardly true of the world of art where formal and essential values are not the same. A tuning fork gives a pure musical note of which the mathematical patterns of vibrations distinguish it from other non-musical sounds. Simple folk tunes are clearly musical. But these cannot be described as instances of music in its perfection. The photograph of a person may give verisimilitude but may fail as a portrait. A literary work may, like the poetry of Kesavadas, have formal excellence but may fail to give adequate expression to human values. On the other hand, Kabir's poetry may have faults of language and form but still express a content of high value.

It follows, then, that the separative search of the purist may be more than balanced by the search for integral perfection. Different art forms are united by the basic unity of the artistic quest which lies in its intuition or revelation of value through a plastic from, image, symbol or sign. The fact that the value cannot be intuited apart from the expressive medium creates the delusion that value is nothing but the form of the medium. The delusion is strongest in pure music, weakest in great literature.

Suppose for a moment that in music, there is nothing except the rhythm and melody or harmony of notes, will not the enjoyment of music, then, be simply an indulgence in sensuous entertainment or at best the appreciation of skill ? It may, of course, be said that the enjoyment of music is not simply the sensation of musical notes striking the ear but the pleasure of perceiving, recognising and appreciating forms and structures in them. The appeciation of music is not simply the sensuous enjoyment of sound but the intellectual enjoyment of beauty revealed by sound. This is true, but is it also not true that beauty always gives the sense of significance even when it does not articulate it ?[10] Why should that luminous but imponderable significance be regarded as delusive ? The fact is that even when accoustic or visual forms are not recognised as conventional symbols they may still function as *natural signs* con-

nected with the human psyche and its attitudes. Even simple forms produce uncanny effects without conventional symbolism. The sound produced by the hammering of copper produces a strangely disturbing sensation, the sight of the majestic, snow-clad Himalayas produces an elevating sensation. A slow rhythm produces a sense of foreboding, a fast rhythm suggests enthusiasm. The names of melodies may be imaginative or accidential but they do subdivide into serious and light, joyous and melancholic etc. It may be recalled that Aristotle has held that music imitates ideas.[11] Plato had already mentioned a deep connection between music and culture. If music was purely formal and unconnected with moral cultural values, neither Plato nor Aristotle would make sense. So Confucious and his school clearly recognised the metaphysical basis and moral role of music.[12] The Indian sacred tradition duly emphasized not only the connection of music with *pada* and *avadhāna* but with *adṛṣṭa* also. Music has the power of moving invisible forces and connects man with the Gods and the invisible patterns of heaven.

In short, art forms tend to join hands in terms of their evocative significance in the context of human value-seeking. At a lower level, they provide entertainments which are complementary. Even more, the different art forms function in a complementary fashion and forge the integral unity of *Nāṭya.* Thus, at the very outset, dance gives the dynamic image of dramatic action. As Abhinavagupta says-"*Nāṭyasya prastāvanāprāṇasya pratibimbakalpaṁ nṛttaṁ*" (*NŚ*, 4,268). Similarly, music as *dhruvāgāna* punctuates and symbolises dramatic action. Perhaps it may be objected that the unity and effectiveness of dramatic action is bound to be impeded by song and dance—but this can be easily answered. Song and dance would impede action only if they are inappropriate. Otherwise, they would heighten sensibility and deepen the impact of action. In any case, it is not necessary to think of dramatic action as merely dominated by conflict and tension. It may, more properly be described as expressive of character, attitudes, destiny and moral law. For serious drama, which is neither farce nor sentimental melodrama, the spectator needs to have a certain attitude of contemplative detachment and this is certainly helped by suitable music and dance.

If we now turn from the multidimensional character of *Nāṭya* to the various levels of the context in which it is produced and apprehended, we may easily distinguish three levels. The most obvious level is that of sensuous presentation. Here, sensations and

images impinge on the mind and appear to point to an alternative world behind them. Since the imaginative and subjective character of this world is not yet clear it may be described as the level of empirical presentation. Entertainment at this level arises from the continuity of the spectacle with real life. I.A. Richards, by his theory of 'imaginal action' makes this the paradigmatic case of art.[13] Our enjoyment of art spectacle is really a vicarious enjoyment of life where imagination gives vividness without the hazards of real life. In many ways, the ancient theory of Bhaṭṭa Lollaṭa is similar. "The spectators believe that they are viewing the real life situation and through the force of *anusandhāna* apprehend (*pratīti*) the *sthāyī bhāva* of Duṣyanta which when fully developed is apprehended as *rasa*."

At a deeper level, the spectacle is the representation or imitation of the real nature of human life, *lokānukṛti*. The notions of *utpatti*, *pratīti* and *upaciti* may now be replaced by *anukṛti*, *anumiti* and *prātibhollekha*, as in Śaṅkuka who clearly realized that although *Nāṭya* is an imitation in the sense that it represents something beyond itself, it is nevertheless a unique and vivid spectacle, neither true nor false in the empirical sense. Actually, Śaṅkuka points the way beyond the concept of imitation to that of imaginative intuition. The full realization of its implication occurred in Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka who pointed out the idealizing role of imagination. Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka makes it clear that the first level of the presentation of *nāṭya* or *kāvya* is that of statement or *abhidhā*. The spectators apprehend the plain meaning—this is Duṣyanta, this is Kaṇva's hermitage, Duṣyanta is attracted to Śakuntalā, etc. The second level is that of imaginative generalization and evocation of *bhāva*, *sādhāraṇīkaraṇa* or *vibhāvanā*. The spectator is no longer busy in noting facts but "brackets" them out of actual space and time and forgets his own separate ego. He becomes the universal spectator of *bhāvas* evoked by the images, *vibhāvas*. His enjoyment or *bhoga* is that of savouring of the innate flavours of feelings. His detachment prevents the enjoyment from being sentimental or narcisstic. He appreciates feelings in their universal and objective truth. For this reason, this level may be called the level of the ideal representation of human subjectivity.

Beyond this idealizing and generalizing level of felt subjectivity lies what may be called the transcendental level in which the spectator realizes himself as pure consciousness in and through the feelings and images. The *bhāvas* are rooted in the ego, the transfiguration of the ego transfigures the *bhāvas* as so many expressions

of consciousness. This leads to enjoyment as a moment of resting in the inward nature of consciousness (*saṁvidviśrānti*). This enjoyment is the pure enjoyment of *rasa* which is luminous and tranquil "*śāntaprāyāsvādaḥ*" as Abhinavagupta states.

Thus, entertainment and *rasāsvāda* are really continuous though they are transformed into various levels. Nor is *rasāsvāda* ultimately the sensation of pleasure, real or imaginary. It is the appreciation of the felt truth of human nature. In this sense, it constitutes a subtle instruction or illumination which cannot be gained otherwise.

References

1 *Prajñāyā aparaparyāyāḥ bodha ityabhidhīyate. Sa ca dvividho bhavati—ekaḥ sakhaṇḍopādhikaḥ aparaḥ akhaṇḍopādhikaḥ. Yasya nirvacanaṁ nāṭye abninayanaṁ vā kartum śakyate tad bodhaḥ sakhaṇḍopadhi viṣayako bhavati. Yasya tu na nirvacanaṁ nāpi nāṭye abhinayanaṁ kartuṁ śakyate tad bodhaḥ akhaṇḍopādhiviṣayakaḥ bhavati. Kauṭilīyam Arthaśāstram pātracī—vyākhyopetam.* —Vol. I, pt. 1, p. 164.

2 *Abhinavabhāratī* ad *Nāṭyaśāstra* 1. 111-19. *Nāṭyaśāstra*, Parimal ed. Vol. I, p. 44.

3 E.g. *naṭanartanaka gāyanavādakavāgjīvanakuśīlavā na karmavighnam kuryuḥ—Arthaśāstra*, ed. Kangle, Vol. I, p. 33.

4 *Nāṭyaśāstra*, 1. 106—*bhavatāṁ devatānāṁ ca śubhāśubhavikalpakaḥ karmabhāvānvayāpekṣi nāṭyavedo mayā kṛtaḥ. Ibid.*, 1.107—*Trailokyasya sarvasya nāṭyaṁ bhāvānukīrtanam. Ibid.*, 1.112—*Nānābhavopasampannaṁ nānāvasthāntarātmakaṁ lokavṛttānukaraṇam nāṭyametanmayā kṛtam.*

5 *Ibid.*, 1.19—*itihāso mayā sṛṣṭaḥ.*

6 *Abhinavabhāratī* ad *Nāṭyaśāstra* 1. 14-18. *NŚ*, pp. I, 12, 15.

7 *NŚ*, 6. 10.

8 *Abhinavabhāratī, Nāṭyaśāstra*, Vol. I, pp. 3,35,177.

9 E.g. Susanne Langer, *Problems of Art* (1957), p. 14. The arts are all different, only expressiveness is common to them, quoted Y.S. Walimbe, *Abhinavagupta on Indian Aesthetics.*

10 This is a point which Collingwood has emphasized in his *Principles of Art.*

11 Butcher, R., *Aristotle's Theory of Poetry and Fine Art.*

12 Fung Yu-ian, *History of Chinese Philosophy*, (1937), Vol. I, pp. 64-65 etc.

13 Richards, I.A., *Principles of Literary Criticism.*

14 *Nāṭyaśāstra*, Vol. I, p. 271; Anupa Pande, *A Historical and Cultural Study of the Nāṭyaśāstra of Bharata.*

Chapter 3

Concept of Drama : Bharata and Aristotle

Much effort has been made to trace the influence of western, particularly Hellenistic, influence over ancient Indian art, architecture, theatre and astronomy. While the influence over plastic art and astronomy is undeniable the same cannot be said of ancient Indian theatre and drama.[1] There is no doubt about the distinct individuality of Indian drama. The difference in the Greek and Indian traditions is reflected in the theoretical formulations based on these diverse arts as is obvious if we compare Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra* with the *Poetics* of Aristotle.

Both Bharata and Aristotle regard drama to be of the nature of "imitation" but in both cases imitation has to be interpreted in a broader sense than what is implied by "mimicking" or mere copying. It is clear from the very first chapter of the *Poetics* that for Aristotle mimesis of imitation is not mere fidelity to the original, the object of imitation in the ordinary sense. The artist may, 'imitate things as they ought to be' (*Poetics*, XXV). A poet is considered a maker (from the Greek *poieties*). There is an ideal form or *eidos* which is present in each individual phenomenon, but imperfectly manifested. This form impresses itself as a sensuous appearance on the mind of the artist; he seeks to give it a more complete expression, to bring to light the ideal which is only half-revealed in the world of reality. His distinctive work as an artist consists in stamping the given material with the impress of the form which is universal. Consequently, he produces a new thing, not the actual thing of experience, not a copy of reality, but a higher reality, for the ideal type must surpass the actual (*Poetics*, XXV). For Aristotle, then, imitation is a creative process.

Nāṭyaśāstra says '*lokavṛttānukaraṇam nāṭyam*' or '*saptadvipānukaraṇam nāṭyam*'. These references certainly make it clear that *nāṭya* was regarded by Bharata as imitation in some sense. The speech, gestures, manners, appearance and dress of actors did seek to conform to what was current in society. This conformity to social reality is what Abhinavagupta understands *lokavṛttānukaraṇam* to mean. It is not the reference to any specific actuality. When a

person uses language in accordance with the current social idiom he cannot be said to be imitating anyone. His conformity to social usage is merely a precondition of social communication.

The purpose of drama needs to be analysed in this context. Just as poetry is not history, drama cannot be a mere visual documentary, *nahi kaver itivṛttamātranirvahena kiñcit prayojanam (Dhvanyāloka*, p. 336). Nevertheless, drama drew its audience to a truth which is not normally realised in everyday life. Drama, thus, is a source of wisdom which throws light on the vicissitudes of life. At the same time it is the source of perpetual delight and amusement as it instructs as well as entertains—*hitopadeśajananam dhṛtikrīḍāsukhādikṛt*.[2]

Strabo (circa 24 B.C.) alludes to two rather conflicting opinions as regards the precise function of poetry. Eratosthenes, he says, held the view that 'the aim of the poet always is to charm the mind, not to instruct'.[3] He himself held that it was moral instruction and this was the oldest and most persistent view in literary criticism.[4]

In Aristotle's treatment of poetry in the *Poetics*, the didactic point of view is abandoned. We hear nothing of the direct ethical influence which the several kinds of poetry exert on the spectator or reader, or of the moral intention of the poet. In Chapter XXV too we have an interesting reference which says, "the standard of correctness in poetry and politics is not the same any more than in poetry and any other art". Aristotle's critical judgements on poetry rest on aesthetic and logical grounds.[5] In Chapter IX of the *Poetics*, however, Aristotle asserts that poetry "is a more philosophical and higher thing than history, for poetry tends to express the universal, history the particular." What this implies, is, that a dramatic work besides providing pleasure does impart a kind of wisdom. What a viewer apprehends in the work is a universal pattern and the pleasure thus derived is one which ensues from cognition. It may be objected that dramatic representations are fictitious not factual, as of history. 'Not real', replies Aristotle, 'but a higher reality, what ought to be, not what is'. The aim of poetry is to represent the universal through the particular, to give a concrete and living embodiment of a universal truth.

We must remember that drama is conceived by Bharata as the imitation of life intending to entertain and instruct its spectators simultaneously. The nature of the object imitated and of the process through which entertainment and instructions are effected leading to the ultimate effect, '*rasaniṣpattiḥ*', need to be explained. In Greek drama the imitation is primarily of action and the general

effect it achieves is explained by Aristotle to be of the nature of *catharsis*, a kind of emotional purging. For Bharata the object of imitation seems to be primarily *bhāva* in its diverse varieties and phases and the mood or impression produced by this imitation, the total dramatic effect on the spectators, appears to be called *rasa*. Thus, the typical Sanskrit play has been judged by modern critics to be characterised by a comparative lack of action and marked by sentimentality as compared to the Greek drama. While the charge of inaction or sentimentality is not true of the the better plays, the fact that these are the directions in which the lesser plays characteristically err, confirms that the basic orientation of the Sanskrit play is quite distinct from that of the Greek drama. It may, thus, be said that the Sanskrit play is primarily a representation of the state of the mind-*nāṭyaṁ bhāvānukīrtanam*[6] and this Abhinava regards as its real characterisasion. The dramatic imitation of social llfe considers it under the aspect of diverse feelings (*nānābhāvopasampannam*) and alternations of states(*nānāvasthāntarātmakam*).[7] This imitation relates to human actions (*narāṇāṁ karmasaṁśrayam*) and to human conditions and reactions of all kinds.[8] People have different characters and dramatic representation follows this diversity as authenticated by social observation—'*nānāśīlāḥ prakṛtayaḥ śīlānnāṭyaṁ vinirmitaṁ tasmāllokapramāṇaṁ hi kartavyaṁ nāṭyayoktṛbhiḥ*'.

Action then, is not neglected in Sanskrit drama. It is, however, certainly sought to be represented in its expressiveness of the inner psyche. As a result the end which such representation serves is to lead the spectators to a state of simultaneous delight and instruction. *Rasa*, thus, denotes not only the qualitative essence of the play but also the peculiar quality of experience it enables the spectator to achieve.

For Aristotle, the ultimate effect of drama is pity and fear effecting the proper purgation of these emotions.[9] Aristotle held that it is not desirable to kill or to starve the emotional part of the soul, and that the regulated indulgence of the feelings serves to maintain the balance of our nature. Tragedy, then, in this sense, would be a vent for the particular emotions of pity and fear.

In Chapter VI of the *Poetics*, Aristotle defines the six parts of tragedy namely plot (*mythos*), character (*ethos*), thought (*dianoia*), diction (*lexis*), melody (*melos*), and spectacle (*opsis*). These are comparable with the *vastu* (plot), *netā* (hero) and *rasa* (mood),[10] the three principal elements of *nāṭya* as analysed by later theorists. If we add *abhinaya*, dance and music, *lakṣaṇa* and *alaṁkāra* to these we get the principal elements of drama as they figure in the *Nāṭya-*

śāstra. *Abhinaya*, especially *āhārya*, provided the spectacle. *Gita*, *vādya* and *nāṭya* were used in quick succession as in the movement of the *alātachakra*. Nearly seven chapters of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* are devoted to music, four specifically to dance and expressive acting involved in it, two to metrics and one to the production of scenic effects. Diction is clearly connected with *vṛttis*, *alaṁkāra* and *kāku*. Character-types are analysed as *prakṛtis* and the plot or structure called *itivirtta* under *sandhyaṅgas* by Bharata. The place of *catharsis* is taken by *rasa*.

Aristotle emphasizes the primacy of plot rather than of character.[11] He says, "the plot, then, is the first principle and as it were, the soul of tragedy, character holds the second place". *Peripeteia* (reversal) and *ananesis* (recognition) are held to be the most powerful elements in a tragedy.

In contrast to the Aristotlian conception, Bharata regards plot or *itivṛtta* as the body rather than the soul of drama.[12] The plot is an artistically subdivided structure, the sequence of events governed by their proper causal connections. This gives rise to five stages or *avasthās*[13] and appropriate *sandhis*. These five, namely *prārambla*, *prayatna*, *prāptisaṁbhava*, *niayataphalaprāpti* and *phalayoga*—begginning, effort, hope-despair, uncertainity-certainty and finally success. Corresponding to these stages there are the five sandhis namely *mukha*, *pratimukha*, *garbha*, *vimarśa* and *nirvahaṇa*. Although generally the five *sandhis* are to be observed, it is not treated as an invariable rule.

The play was divided into several acts or *aṅkas*, although it could be of one act also. The *aṅka* was compact and the action depicted in it was not to exceed one day, which is reminiscent of Greek drama.

Chapter XV of the *Poetics* provides a systematic though brief discussion of how a dramatist should delineate his characters. There are four basic rules: characters of tragedy should be good, life-like, appropriate, consistent. In Chapter XIII, where Aristotle discusses the tragic protagonists, he describes the tragic here as one who is noble and better than average but not perfectly virtuous or just, who passes from a state of prosperity to adversity not through any vice or depravity, but through his own *hamartia* or error of judgement. If the character has no liability to err there would be no necessary and probable connection between the catastrophe and the original tragic deed. Tragedy, would then, become a mere series of accidents. There might be pity and fear in abundance but there would be no enlightenment for the audience, nor recognition of a

universal pattern underlying human actions. By appropriateness, Aristotle means that characters should be representative of a type—a king should be kingly, a woman womanly, and so on. "Thirdly, a character must be true to life," and "the fourth point is consistency." The traits of a character should not be changed within the same play without any reason.

The *Nāṭyaśāstra*, too, has a typology of characters of *uttama* (superior), *madhyama* (middling) and *adhama* (inferior) *prakṛitis* or natures. High, middle and low remain ranks, that is to say, they came to signify the norms of behaviour expected or imputed to the different rungs of the social hierarchy. The remaining four factors which Aristotle enumerates in order are : thought, diction, song and spectacle respectively.

Since, historically, tragedy begins with song and dance it would not be inappropriate to take first the musical element, the chorus, before thought and diction. Greek tragedies were not divided into acts, their subdivisions are named with reference to the once all important chorus. These divisions were the prologue, *parados* or entrance song of the chorus, *episode*, *stasimon* or song of the chorus, and *exodus*. *Commods* was a lamentation song sung by chorus and actor in concert.[14]

The dramatists realised that the chorus could be used for a variety of purposes. It could expound the past, comment on the present, forebode the future. It provided the poet with a mouthpiece and the spectator with a counterpart of himself. It formed a living foreground of common humanity above which the hero towered; a living background of pure poetry which turned lamentation into music and horror into peace.

For Aristotle a drama can have its impact as much in reading as in witnessing its performance on the stage. Since spectacle is related only to the performance of the play, Aristotle dismisses it as the least important of the elements of tragedy. The Greek stage was an open air one and plain, perforce their conventions were simple too. It had few actors, not more than three, who wore masks and enacted the drama.

In the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, the lyrical or musical element is regarded as essential and was provided both as a background as well as a constituent. The orchestra or *kutapa* is a prominent feature of the stage, dance and music figure in the *pūrvaraṅga* as well as during the main play. The music of the theatre was termed *dhruvā gāna* and was moulded to suit the structure and atmosphere of dramatic plots. Five types of *dhruvās* have been enumerated and described

by Bharata namely, *Prāveśikī*, *Ākṣepikī*, *Prāsādikī*, *Antarā* and *Niṣkrāmikī*.[15] The *dhruvās* suggested acts and moods of different characters in a play; and this was suggested by the contents of the songs as well their metre, language, tempo and *tāla*.

The synthetic conception of *nāṭya*, *nṛtya*, *nṛtta* and *gīta* is a basic premise of Bharata's theatre. *Nṛtya* is a mere spectacle which is the representation of some object. *Nāṭya* is the articulate exprssion of connected meanings communicating *rasa*. It uses the language not of gestures and movements but that of articulate speech. It is not so much a spectacle as a communication. This integration is a major departure from the Aristotlian conception. True, in the Greek drama, the chorus is a separate entity with a definite function. The choric and dramatic elements retain a certain identity severally. In the Indian dramatic concept the component of dance and lyric does not in any sense subserve the drama. The whole structure is poetically conceived in quite a different way, the dance and lyric being essential ingredients of its texture and technique. The lyricism has a logic of its own rather than an action packed story and has, therefore, little use for the unities of time, place and action. This lyrical quality helps the actor to enrich his action, to extend its essential quality beyond what a straight enactment of the scene itself could produce.

Bharata's stage was not an open air one. In Chapter 2 he gives the architectural details of the *nāṭyagṛha* or theatre—the laying of the foundation, white washed walls, barrel vault roof, ornamental pillars, a green room, stage, ante-stage, auditorium, etc.

The parallel of spectacle in the Indian theatre was *āhārya*, connected with make-up, constumes, stage sets, etc. The stage did not use properties except sparingly. The preparation of actors in the green room included the elaborate make-up, painting of limbs, costumes, and ornaments. Thought in *Poetics* is concerned only with the intellectual content of the speeches of dramatic agents. It includes all the effects which the speaker has to produce while enunciating a truth or arguing a point; proof and refutation, excitation of feelings, etc. Chapters XX-XXII are devoted to diction. They discuss grammar, classification of words, poetic style and metaphors. In the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, too, speech is described as the body of drama and *vāchika abhinaya* is central—*vāci yatnastu kartavyo nāṭyashyesha tanuḥ smṛta*.[16]

The *NŚ* is heir to a vastly varied dramatic tradition. In Chapter 18, ten major types of plays, the *daśarūpakas*, are described. The ancient forms *Ḍima*, *Samavakāra* and *Ihāmṛga* were heroic-

mythic forms, with the *devāsurasaṁgrāma* theme, had the atmosphere of commotion and conflict and lacked romance and humour. *Vyāyoga* is similar but had men as contenders. The *Aṅka* is a one-act tragedy, *Prahasana* a farce, *Bhāṇa* a monologue recounting amorous advertures and *Vīthi* an amusing dialogue.[17]

However, the two forms which Bharata declares to be the proper paradigms of the theatrical representation were the *Nāṭaka* and *Prakaraṇa.* The two had a proper development of the plot, observed all the five *sandhis* with five or more acts. The *Nāṭaka* dealt with the aristocracy and high ideals. It had a famous epic king as hero and a heroic legend as its story. The *Prakaraṇa* had heroes from classes below the ruler—brāhmaṇa, vaiśya, secretary, priest or merchant and drew its story from a work of fiction. Hence Raghavan has termed the *Nāṭaka* and *Prakaraṇa* as the heroic play and the social play.

Greek drama knows of only tragedy and comedy. The old attic comedy, which Aristophanes continued, was heavily satirical and plot construction was slight. The Attic comedy was akin to our *Nāṭikā.* It is, however, tragedy that is the chief form of drama. Tragedy, then, is the imitation of an action that is serious, complete and of a certain magnitude.[18] Conflict is the fulcrum of that action, The concept of poetic justice as a ruling principle of the cosmos was not acceptable to Greek factionalism. Aristotle believed in the intervention of fate, which will act blindly and hence bring about tragedy.

In the *Nāṭyaśāstra* the plot does not admit the characteristic tragic sequence. The plot is a paradigm of human effort-striving and enterprise which, after initial frustration necessarily ends with success; that is mandatory. One may well ask why not failure or catastrophe ? Why not death ? Now Sanskrit drama has fine tragic scenes, of suffering graciously endured there being hardly any parallel to it, but this is no tragedy in the strict sense of the word. But this does not mean that the *Nāṭyaśāstra* has no conception of tragic seriousness and has only comic plays in mind, because the mood and character of the play on the whole does not simply depend on the formal structure of the play or the death of hero but rather on the seriousness of the theme and emotions involved.

One may refer there to the *Nāṭyadarpaṇa* of Rāmachandra and Guṇachandra which terms even *rasa* as *sukhadukhātmakaḥ. Nāṭya* may be said to reflect the moral philosophy of the law of karman which asserts that ultimately men get their desserts. Good Sanskrit drama portrays violence, suffering, errors and accidents realistically

but the rule of poetic justice imparts to the drama an idealistic and optimistic outlook on life confident and hopeful manner and persist in righteousness. In fact, Abhinava criticises the pure tragic or comic plays which suit the behaviour of characters who do not have sufficient depth and moral stature. The distinctive kind of experience produced in dramatic spectacle was *rasa*. The concept of *rasa* as enjoyment of the theatrical representation of emotive themes and situations was joined to the idea that what was represented should be relevant to the pursuit of some recognised human value or *puruṣārtha*. This emphasis on the concern of drama with the active search for values saved it from lapsing into mere sentimentality or vulgar amusement just as the emphasis on *rasa* saved it from lapsing into mere didacticism. Dramatic representation was required at once to be realistic, idealistic and imaginative.

References

1 Weber and Windisch sought Greek inspiration and influence over Indian drama. Keith held that "it is natural that contemporaneously with the efforts should have been made to establish the indebtedness of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* to Aristotle's theory of drama. There is no doubt of the many parallels between the two theories." But he also concluded "that there is also essential difference such as renders independent development of the Indian doctrine at least as probable as borrowing." See Keith, *History of Sanskrit Drama*, p, 355.

2 *NŚ*, 1.113.

3 Strabo, 12.4.

4 Homer was often referred to as the educator of Hellas. Poets and dramatists themselves believed that they had an important function to perform in society. Aristophanes, whose comedies were tremendously popular, although full of personal satire, too, proclaims that the comic poet not only ministers to the enjoyment of the community and educates their tastes, he is also a moral teacher and political adviser (*Frogs*, 1009-10). Even Plato, who vehemently attacked poetry, notably hymns of gods and panegyrics in praise of public heroes, expected from it an educative function.

5 Bharata has eight *rasas* (*NŚ*, 6, 15-16). These were *Śṛṅgāra*, *Hāsya*, *Vīra*, *Raudra*, *Adbhuta*, *Bhayānaka*, *Bībhatsa* and *Karuṇa*. It should be noted that later a ninth *rasa*, *Śānta*, was also introduced in the *AB*. Abhinava regularly speaks of the nine *rasas*.

6 *NŚ*, 1.107.
7 *Ibid.*, 1.112.
8 *Ibid.*, 1.113.
9 *Poetics*, Ch. VI.
10 *Daśarūpaka* with the commentary of Dhanika (Bombay, 1927, 1:11) *Vastunetā rasāsṭeṣām ....vastu cha tridhā.*
11 *Poetics*, Ch. VI.
12 *NŚ*, 190.1.
13 *Ibid.*, 19.7.
14 Aristotle, *Poetics*, XII. *Prologue* was the part before the entrance of the chorus. *Parados* was the entrance song of the chorus, the counterpart (alongwith *prologue* and *exode*) of Acts, the scene of dramatic action and dialogue. *Stasimon* was the song of the chorus, the number of these varies with that of the episodes they separate. Exodes: All after the last song of the chorus. Aristotle mentions still one more part of the tragic plot, the *commos*.
15 For details, see Chapter on music.
16 *NŚ*, 14.2.
17 We are told that the first play staged by Bharata at the instance of Brahmā was the *Samavakāra Amṛtamanthana*; the *Ḍima Tripuradāha* was staged by him before Śiva. This suggests that the more ancient dramatic forms and mythical themes were dominated by *raudra, vīra* and *adbhuta rasas* and lacked the *śṛṅgāra* and *hāsya rasas*. The heroes were generally superhuman, olympian (*devas*) and titanic (*asuras*). *Samavakāra*, *Ḍima* and *Ihāmṛga* exemplify these mythic-heroic forms. *Vyāyoga* has a general similarity, but it includes men as contenders and may be described as heroic-martial. The first two have four and three acts each and the latter two are one act plays. Abhinava comments contemptuously on the ancient dramatic form—the *Samavakāra*. It is people with unimaginative hearts, women, children and fools are attracted by such spectacles of commotion. The other one-act plays besides *Ihāmṛga* and *Vyāyoga* were *Aṅka*, *Prahasana*, *Bhāṇa* and *Vīthi*. *Aṅka* had only human characters, its leading sentiment was *karuṇa* with th. wailing of women and a situation of despair and resignation following catastrophe. *Prahasana* was a farce and *Bhāṇa* a monologue where a character recounted amorous adventures with proper histrionic expressions. *Vīthi* was a dialouge full of witty repartees and amusing sallies.
18 *Poetics*, Ch. VI.

Chapter 4

Conventionalism and Realism in Sanskrit Drama

The *Nāṭyaśāstra* presents a fine balance of the conventional and realistic elements in Sanskrit drama. Drama is an imitation of *loka* or society, that is, human nature, social usage and behaviour. The very word *lokānukṛti* is the proof of the realistic approach of the Sanskrit drama.

A common criticism against Sanskrit drama is that its characters are conventional types and not real individuals. The dramatic forms are said to have conventional happy endings. Dramaturgical works are thus said to have become the sources of dramatic compositions. If true, this is undoubtedly a great flaw. Actually, however, we must remember that Sanskrit drama in theory, as well as in practice, believes in the combination of convention and realism—*nāṭyadharma* and *lokadharma*. Social representation (*lokānukaraṇa*) was an acknowledged primary object of drama, although it intended to communicate an inner experience through its medium. The practical constraints on the stage necessarily made this representation a mixture of realistic and conventional elements. This was clearly recognised, and the aspects of representation were termed *Lokadharmī* and *Nāṭyadharmī*.[1] The two *dharmīs* or dramatic modes briefly correspond to 'Nature' (*svabhāva*) and 'Image' (*vibhāva*), the latter subsisting only in a dramatic spectacle.[2] The real world has a natural mode leading to experiences of pleasure and pain, but it can become the occasion of pure enjoyment (*rasa*) only when it is transformed into a spectacle.[3]

It is necessary to grasp the conception of society and man which is presupposed by Sanskrit drama and dramaturgy with Bharata at its head in order to see through the hollowness of the objection alluded to above. Society itself was regarded not as a simply natural product of casual factors but rather as a moral order based on dharma declared by the *Śāstras*. A mere animal herd or *Samāja* is different from a human society or *Samāja*, which is distinguished by dharma or moral Law. Thus, a certain formal and idealistic perspective was necessarily present in that age for the viewing of social reality. Social categories of *varṇa* and *āśrama* and other social and ritual relations appear to them more real than the

merely instinctive behaviour of human being. As regards human nature, the general presumption is that the constituents of human nature are universal, though each individual has a specific character formed by his own actions. It follows, thus, that in drama, even in the representation of a real individual singular and common features are inevitably mixed up.

Lokadharmi[4] consists of natural feelings and conditions (*svabhāvabhāvopagatam*), social usage and behaviour (*lokavārtāpriyopetam*) and natural acting (*svabhāvābhinayopetam*). *Loka* or society is here understood as an order based on human nature (*svabhāva*) and established usage (*vārtā*).[5] Social usage or action patterns (*lokavyavahāra*) depend on natural activity (*karma*) as well as the norms of moral law (*dharma*).[6] Human nature, thus, is not considered to be intrinsically constituted or determined by social development.[7] Although the specificity of Indian social order was well recognised it was not understood in terms of any socio-historical determinism.[8] It was believed to be the result of a unique and timeless tradition.[9] The fact is that in ancient India, as in mediaeval Europe, human society was understood in terms of cosmic and moral constraints rather than in terms of ephemeral historical economic relations.[10] For this reason, the theme and practice of drama tended to be, on the whole, conservative, taking the social order for granted and concentrating mainly on the psychic and moral roots of human conduct.

In representing society, drama did not intend to present a documentary, but to create a suggestive image and for this reason no attempt was made to develop elaborate realism. The stagecraft depended on the extensive use of signs, symbols and purely conventional representation called *nāṭyadharmī*. If *lokadharmī* meant 'belonging to the world', *nāṭyadharmī* meant 'belonging to the stage'. The latter, thus, meant not only conventional but creative innovation of the theatre also. Dance and music come under this category. Dance involved both *nṛtta*[11] and *nṛtya*, both belonging predominantly to the *nāṭyadharmī* mode, *Nāṭya* involovd acting, but in a limited sense. *Nṛtya* was *bhāvāśrāyābhinaya*—the dancer expressed emotional states through the motion and disposition of his limbs. *Nṛtya* is a mere spectable. Unlike *nṛtya*, *nāṭya* uses not merely the language of bodily gestures and movements but primarily the language of articulate speech. Speech and emotions were rendered with much natural realism. Dramatic speech required not only the realistic rendering of natural speech in all variety of situation, but the manner in which speech was affected by sickness, old-age,

childhood, deathbed, hurry, etc. was also to be carefully represented. Conventional gestures were used to convey that the speech was a soliloqy (*svagata*), or a whisper (*karṇe)* or an aside (*janāntika*) or a secret shared by a character with the audience. For the aside, thus, the gesture called the *tripatākā hasta* was used. The stage did not use properties except sparingly. *Āhāryābhinaya* meant the preparations in the green room. The *Nāṭyaśāstra* mentions four types of *āhāryābhinaya* :[12] (a) *pusta* or model work, (b) *alaṁkāra* or decoration, (c) *aṅgaracanā* or make-up in accordance with role, and (d) *sajīva* or different objects represented on the stage. Model work or *pusta* was of three different kinds viz. (a) *sandhima*, which included productions made up from joining pieces of birch and bamboo and covering them up with skin and clothes. (b) The second was called *vyājima*. Here some mechanical means (*yantra*) was used for moving the model, such as by a string. In the *Mṛcchakaṭika*, a clay toycart gives the name to the play. In the *Bālarāmāyaṇa* we have mechanical dolls. (c) The third variety was the *vestime* where a covering of lac or wax was used. The general principle was not that of stark realism but of conventional representation. As Abhinavagupta comments : "The kind of production that depends on much use of wooden machines is not to be used in our theatrical productions because it implies a great deal of labour (*khedavāha*);" mountains, vehicles, aerial cars, celestial weapons etc. could also be shown by 'personification' or by signs and suggestions. The chariot could thus be indicated by the charioteer appearing to hold the reins, its motion by gestures suggestive of the sensation of the breeze blowing fast. Instead of concentrating on mechanical contrivances and material reconstruction of things and detailed sets containing the exact replicas of social scenes, the *NŚ* concentrates on the elaborate language of gestures and symbols which dancers and actors had developed. Thus, as Dr. Lath opines in his paper '*Nāṭya* as Conceived by Bharata' : "But in Bharata, *nāṭyadharmī* also means the transformation of *loka* in a much stronger sense. It consists (1) in the use of poetic speech, heightened gesture, dance, music and the like and (2) in the use of specially designed narratives of plots, abstracted from *loka* and imbued with a moral purpose."[13]

Dramatic types and convention : The *Nāṭyaśāstra* gives a typology of characters of *uttama* (superior), *madhyama* (middling) and *adhama* (inferior) *prakṛtis* or nature.[14] The superior nature is known by its self-control, wisdom, consideration, lofty objectives, depth and magnanimity, sacrifice, knowledge of diverse crafts (*śilpa*) and sciences (*Śāstras)*, etc. The middling nature is known for its profi-

ciency in conducting social business (*lokopacāra*), in *Śilpasūtras*, professional knowledge and pleasing manners. The *adhama prakṛti* is characterised by bad character, constitution, speech, etc. This division is socio-ethical. It is not purely moral, nor is it based wholly on recognised social classes and castes. It combines both the criteria. *Uttama prakṛti* refers to nobility of character in a moral sense as also in the sense of those who are socially elevated.[15] The *madhyama prakṛti* lacks the high moral qualities but more or less has the same social characteristics, except that instead of high-mindedness it has worldy wisdom and sophistication. The *adhama prakṛti* is characterised by immoral and criminal tendencies. This apparent correlation of moral qualities with social position is typical of a hierarchical society or of an idealistic misconception of social reality. Thus kings, ministers and priests of the plays are potrayed as brave and wise. However, while characters from lower classes or castes are not treated as heroes, they are not assumed to be immoral. The immoral characters are either criminals or certain types of courtiers such as the Śakāra in the *Mṛcchakaṭika*. From the dramatic point of view, the high and middling types of heroes may be bold (*dhiroddhata*), graceful (*dhīralalita*), noble (*dhīrodātta*) and tranquil (*dhīrapraśānta*). The gods exemplify the first, the kings the second, the chief of the army and ministers the third and the merchants the fourth.

Keith has alleged, "The drama likewise has no desire for individual figures, but only for typical characters",[16] and this has been a fairly common criticism of the characters of Sanskrit drama. The kings, queens, ministers, the jester, the rake, the traders, ascetics, menials, gods and demons are said to be classified into neat categories of high, middle, low—noble or bold, and to be no more than the images of fixed social or mythical types. This is held to rule out individual and rounded or developing characters such as those be found in Shakespeare. Unfortunately, this misunderstands the purpose of classification and generalises from the practice of lesser writers. Types, especially social types, have a genuine place in any drama, but that does not by itself rule out individuality. Falstaff and Shylock represent types but are individuals nevertheless. The same is true of the *Vidūṣaka* in the *Mṛcchakaṭika*. Again, turning to human nature, it is never either purely typical or purely individual. The concept of the individual, in fact, is the concept of a particular belonging to a class or universal. Thus, all human beings show common as well as peculiar characteristics. Their classification into types is not a denial of their individuality. For the gods *dhīrod-*

dhata seems to be true with reference to *Samavakāra*, *Ḍima* and such like. But in a *Nāṭaka*, e.g. the characterisation of Rāma in *Uttararāmacarita* as *dhīrodātta* does not produce a type. Similarly, the description of kings as *dhīralalita* could be true of a *Nāṭikā* or of a play like *Mālavikāgnimitram* but hardly of a *Nāṭaka* like *Śākuntalam*. Duṣyanta and Cārudatta are both *dhīrodātta* but they are distinct individuals, nor can Śakuntalā be confused with any other heroine. Jīmūtavāhana is a ruler who is *dhīrapraśānta* in the *Nāgānanda*. The purpose, thus, of classifying heroes and heroines is certainly not to suggest that the dramatist should abandon his creativity in favour of slavish conformity to dramatic prescriptions. The fact is that bad authors everywhere fail to create living characters, whereas a genius by virtue of his vivid presentation is always able to suggest the reality of his object. Moreover, that *Nāṭyaśāstra* and the dramatists intended vividly alive characters in significant action can hardly by denied. But they can hardly be blamed for the taking into account the modern philosophy of social individualism in the analysis of drama.

Concerning dramatic forms and convention, it is a common objection that Sanskrit drama lacks tragedy and this has been intended to convey that it fails to represent the deeper side of things (Keith, *Sanskrit Drama*; Nehru, *Discovery of India*). This conclusion is based on the fact that Sanskrit drama forbids the death of the hero at the end of the play. In fact, this is not strictly true, because in a type of composition, the *Aṅka*, it did end in death and lamentation. Secondly, the darker side of life need not be portrayed simply by death at the end,[17] but rather by the seriousness of the theme, manner and emotions involved. It is significant that the *Nāṭyadarpaṇa* of Rāmacandra and Guṇacandra terms even *rasa* as *sukhadukhātmakaḥ*. There is no dearth of the darker side of things of unreasonable accident of suffering in Sanskrit drama, but such depiction is generally placed in the middle of the play. The seriousness of suffering in plays like *Mṛcchakaṭika*, *Uttararāmacarita* or even *Śākuntalam* cannot be justly described as simply a part of some comedy. The same is true of a grim play like *Veṇisaṁhāra*. Thus, if tragedy is the communication of the darker side of life and its suffering it cannot be said to be absent in Sanskrit drama. On the other hand, if tragedy is defined in terms of a plot ending in death, then it becomes simply a convention and there is no reason to expect Greek or Elizabethan conventions in Sanskrti drama. Categories like 'tragedy' or 'comedy' are literary conventions, not descriptio of philosophical truth. No culture perceived the fact of death and

suffering with greater depth than the Indian. At the same time, it never lost hope and regarded sorrow as unwise or unheroic. In fact, Abhinava comments that it is only the sentimentality of women, children and fools which can appreciate sheer lamentation and laughter.[18] Thus while Sanskrit drama was expected to represent life in all its aspects, tears as well as laughter, the types of drama[19] introduce a conventional element which sought to inculcate a certain philosophy of life also. Drama was not simply entertainment but also moral instruction.[20] The latter was responsible for the concept of poetic justice to be an inherent part of drama. The facts of death and suffering were not regarded as final, and depressing phenomena were to be understood in the proper perspetive of life. The *Mahābhārata*, after the grim conclusion of the battle, goes on to question the very nature of war and peace, just as in the first and perhaps the greatest of western tragedies, the *Oresteia* of Aeschylus, while deaths abound in the first two parts of the trilogy, the third part goes on to seek something beyond the chain of vengeance and death. Here, death is not the end. In the Shakespearian tragedy it is supposed that the sense of waste is expressed, but the Indian drama does not permit the sense of waste to be regarded as a final thing of life. Drama was meant for public consumption and in no country can the theatre be ever wholly without any restrictions imposed in the light of social values.

Every artistic tradition tends to become elaborate in the course of time. Thus realism in dramatic representation tends to culminate today in elaborate sets or the photograhism of the cinema. The ancient tradition, on the contrary, emphasizing expressive convention, gradually tended to err in the other direction. The elaborate conventions in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* represent a fairly developed tradition; nevertheless it seeks to present a balance. It is, however, necessary to remember that conventional elements or *nāṭyadharmī* are in any case unavoidable in any cultural activity, most of all in work of expressive communication such as works of art are. If they were to be wholly realistic, they would fail to put reality within a perspective of communication, intelligibility and social acceptibility. They would also lack all artistic interpretation. On the other hand, if conventionalism were to swamp or exclude all realistic elements (*lokadharmī*), drama, at least will cease to be drama, because its fundamental characteristic is imitation or *anukṛti*. The very characteristic of drama in terms of *lokānukṛti* shows its basically realistic intention.

References

1 *NŚ*, 18,70-86.

2 *Śvabhāvo lokadhrmī tu vibhāvo nāṭyaṁ eva hi. Ibid.*, 21,203.

3 The *Vibhāvas* are regarded as *alaukika*.

4 *Ibid.*, 13,71-72. Abhinava explains—*Yadā kavir yathāvṛttavastumātraṁ varṇayanti naṭaśca prayuñkte na tu svabuddhikṛtaṁ rañjanavaicitryaṁ tadā tāvān sa kāryabhāgaḥ prayogabhāgaśca lokadharmāśrayaḥ tatra dharmī.* (*Abhinavabhāratī, Nāṭyaśāstra*, Vol. II, p. 215). *Lokadharmī* follows the facts as given and does not introduce innovative and entertaining variations. Drama and poetry may indeed follow either social reality or imagination. *Kāvyanāṭyayoḥ lokānusāritvaṁ vā vaicitryayogitvaṁ vā dharmaḥ* (*ibid., l.c.*).

5 *Vārtā* usually has two meanings, viz, livelihood and news or social currency. Cf. *Amarakośa*, 1,6,7. 2,9,1. 3,3,75 (*vārtā vṛttau janaśrutau*). Here, as Abhinava says, *lokavārtā lokaprasiddhiḥ* (*Abhinavabhāratī*, 11, p. 214).

6 Cf. *Manusmṛti*, 2, 2-5; Kullūka on *ibid.*, 2.5. "*Nāṭyaicchā niṣidhyate kintu śāstroktakarmasu samyagvṛttir vidhīyate.*"

7 According to *Bhagavadgītā*, social relations are based on nature and functions—"*cāturvarṇyaṁ mayā sṛṣṭam guṇakarmavibhāgaśaḥ.*"

8 The *Purāṇas* recognise the distinctive feature of India to be *cāturvarṇya*. *Vāyu*, 45, 82-86, *Matsya*, 114, 5-7, *Mārkaṇḍeya*, 56, 1-2. That is why Bhārata is said to be *Karmabhūmi—Nāṭyaśāstra.*, 18. 100.

9 The timelessness is with respect to ordinary empirical history. The cosmic history of the *Yugas* does transform human nature and *dharma*. *Ibid.*, 1,8.

10 Cf. F.W. Maitland (tr.), *Gierke's Political Theories of the Middle Age*, pp. 7-8.

11 *Nṛtta* was a pure dance sequence. It denotes the movements of limbs in a definite rythm and tempo—*nṛttam tālalayāśrayam. Daśarūpakam*, 1,9 (with the Comm. of Dhanika).

12 *Nāṭyaśāstra* (*Kāvyamālā* ed.), 21, 5.

13 *India's Intellectual Traditions*, ed. Daya Krishna, p. 108 Pub. by Indian Council of Philosophical Reasearch. The view of Prof. Kantak that "Another interpretation of *Lokadharmin* and *Nāṭyadharmin* is the distinction between the popular and the elite theatres—between the loose, variegated, folk drama forms and the strictly designed, precept-oriented classical drama" (Kantak, *The Nāṭyaśāstra: Dramatic Mode, Ibid.*, p.143) is a comp-

lete misunderstanding of the concept of *lokadharmin nāṭyadharmin*, and can hardly be accepted.

14 *NŚ*, 24, 1-12.

15 In the case of superior women it is clearly stated that they are of superior birth (*abhijana*), *ibid.*, 24, 9-10. Although, it is not explicitly stated in the case of men, it may be supposed that it implicitly meant that also.

16 Keith, *History of Sanskrit Drama*, p. 282.

17 Cf. Aristotle's *Poetics*, Ch. VI, where his definition of tragedy does not include the death of the hero as a necessary part. "Tragedy, then is an imitation of an action that is serious, complete and of a certain magnitude........" (tr. S.H. Butcher).

18 *Niranusandhānhṛdyāḥ stribālamūrkhāśca vidravādināhṛtahṛdayāḥ kriyante ityuktaḥ samavakāraḥ. Abhinavabhāratī*, Vol. II, p. 441.

19 Chapter eighteen of the the *NŚ* describes ten types of plays termed the *Daśarūpakas*. The *Ḍima*, *Samavakāra* and *Ihāmṛga* were heroic-mythic forms with the *devāsurasaṁgrāma* theme. *Vyāyoga* was similar but had men as contenders. The *Aṅka* and *Prahasana* were pure tragedy and comedy, the *Bhāṇa* a witty monologue and *Vīthi* a dialogue. These four were one-act plays. The best known and most devloped forms were, however, the *Nāṭaka* and *Prakaraṇa*. The former had characters of the aristocracy and the latter those below the aristocracy.

20 *Hitopadeśajananam dhṛtikrīḍāsukhādikṛt—Nāṭyaśāstra*, 1, 113.

Chapter 5

Urbanism and the Theatre in Ancient India

It is well known that with the disappearance of the Harappa civilization urban life also collapsed in the 2nd millennium B.C. Though its beginnings were earlier, the Second Urban Revolution occurred during the centuries between the Mahājanapada Age and the Maurya Age i.e., between the sixth and the fourth cent. B.C. While the archaeologists are piecing together the detailed history of the growth of urban centres such as Hastināpura and Ahicchatrā, Kauśāmbī and Śrāvastī, Kāśī and Rājagṛha, we can get a general glimpse of town life from the Epics, early Buddhist and Jaina literature and the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya as well as the account of Megasthenes. From the sculptures at Bharhut and Sanci we also get a visual glimpse of what the cities of the times looked like. As an example one may mention the ancient town of Girivraja which was the capital of Magadha. From the *Mbh.* we learn that five mountains—*Vaibhāra*, *Varāha*, *Vṛṣabha*, *Ṛṣigiri* and *Caityaka* surrounded the town (*Mbh.*, 2,19,2-3). Its people were contented and prosperous—*tuṣṭapuṣṭajanopetam*, belonged to all the four *varṇas*—*cāturvarṇyajanākulam*—with opulent festivities, *sphītosvam*, and unassailable—*anādhṛṣyam*. Its prosperity was shown by the abundance of food and garlands in the shops (*bhakṣyamālāpaṇānām*). The markets (*vīthis*) were opulent (*samṛddhi*). In the *Rāmāyaṇa* (1,5), Ayodhyā is described as a rectangle which had a length of twelve *yojanas* and a breadth of three *yojanas*. Its streets were well-divided and it had a broad highway. Its gateways had arches (*kapatatoraṇavatīm*), it had a deep moat (*parikhā*), its palaces and upper stories of buildings (*prāsādaiḥ-kūṭāgāraiśca*) shone like mountain peaks. The description of Pāṭaliputra by Magasthenes is too well known to repeat here. At Bharhut and Sanci we can see the moats, walls, gateways, *kūṭāgāras*, *aṭṭālakas*, *vipaṇis*, *gavākṣas*, pillars, halls, barrel-vaulted and domical rooms of houses and cities.

City life meant a concourse of traders and craftsmen from various parts as well as a gathering of kings, officers and warriors—*Sāmanta - rājasaṁghaicśakalikarmabhirāvṛtam/ Nānādeśanivāsaiśca vaṇigbhir upaśobhitam//* (*Ayodhyā Rāmāyaṇa*, 1,5,14). This

meant not only the accumulation of goods in the markets and the availability of money to buy them, but also the growth of luxuries and the patronage of the arts. Thus we gather that Ayodhyā was full of women and theatrical troupes—*vadhūnāṭakasaṁghaiśca saṁyuktāṁ sarvataḥ purīm*. (*ibid*., 1,5,12). Musical instruments like the *mṛdaṅga, viṇā* and *paṇava* could be heard on all sides. In the *Mbh*., in the context of the inaugration of the *sabhā* at Indraprastha, we gather that diverse kinds of showmen displayed their arts—*tatra mallā naṭājhallā sūtāḥ vaitālikāstathā* (*Mbh* , 2,4,5) Again, during the Rājasūya the specatcles of actors and dancers were arranged (*paśyanto naṭanartakau*— *ibid*., 2, 40.48).

Prof. U.N. Roy has pointed out that ancient Indian towns were divided into six categories viz., *rājadhānī* or capital town, *droṇamukha* which was a trading centre adjacent to the place where a river entered the city, *paṭṭana* or port, *puṭabhedana* or a big commercial centre, *nigama* or a centre of crafts and trade, *sthānīya* or a district headquarter or a police station, *kharvata* or a small township, and *kheta* or an out of the way habitation. From this it can be concluded that the most important factors leading to urbanisation were trade, specialised crafts and the needs of administration and defence. *Milindapañho* gives a vivid picture of the city and calls Śākala a *putabhedana*. In fact, it contains the famous parable of the the *Dhammanagara* which reminds one of the just city of Plato. Compared to the attitude of the Brāhamaṇical *Dharmasūtras* this represents a great change. In the *Dharmasūtras* even the village is deemed a place unfit for the study of the *Vedas*—*grāma-sampīpe nādhyeyam*. In the *Milindapañho*, on the other hand, the *Dhamma* or ideal order is imaged as a city. Far from being outside the pale of spiritual life, the city evidently can now be conceived as providing a model for its organisation. It is also interesting to note that within the 83 kinds of social groups mentioned in the *Milindapañho* *nāṭaka* and *naccakā* are also mentioned. Finally, the *Kāmasūtra* of Vātsyāyana gives a picture of the typical townsman or the bourgeois nāgaraka. Here the nāgaraka is advised to have a house with an assured supply of water nearby with trees and gardens, with a separate room for work and two living rooms. The house was to be comfortably furnished. The nāgaraka was expected to take interest in the arts. The lute (*vīṇā*), the painting board (*citra-phalaka*) and the brush (*vartikāsamudgakaḥ*) were to be handy. In the evenings there were to be musical gatherings (*saṁgītakāni*). A Hall of the Muses (*Sarasvatyā bhavane*) is envisaged where fortnightly or monthly festive entertainments (*samājas*) were to be held. Actors were to

stage spectacles (*kuśīlavāścāgantavaḥ prekṣaṇakam dadyuḥ*). What is interesting is that Vātsyāyana advises the villagers to imitate the townsmen in their life of amusement, entertainment and adventure.

If we review the picture of urban life in these diverse literary works, say from the 4th cent. B.C. to the 2nd cent. A.D. we, notice the growing importance of the city in the political, social economic, religious and artistic life of the times. No wonder then, that the clear emergence of the theatre as reflected in the *NŚ* falls in this very period and shows intimate connection with city life. The growing urban life contributed to the growth of the theatre which in turn became an important element of urban life. Drama being the imitation of life (*lokānukṛtiḥ*), it is natural that social changes should be reflected in the structural changes of drama and urbanisation was bound to transform the basic concepts of dramaturgy. In the first place, the development of what Prof. Raghavan has called 'the social play' in Sanskrit was clearly the result of the rise of cities and city life. It may be recalled that the principal types of dramatic compositions mentioned by Bharata may be divided into two broad classes namely, the heroic and the social. Of the ten *Rūpakas* or *Rūpas*, *Nāṭaka*, *Vyāyoga*, *Samavakāra*, *Ḍima*, *Īhāmṛga* and *Aṅka* are examples of the heroic drama with royal or divine heroes. On the other hand, *Prakaraṇa*, *Prahasana*, *Bhāṇa* and *Vīthi* represent the social type. In each of the two types an evolution of forms appears to have taken place. Thus, in the heroic play *Ḍima*, *Samavakāra* and *Īhāmṛga* have only divine heroes and mythical themes concentrating on conflicts and the supernatural. With the *Vyāyoga*, Royal Sages emerge as heroes. It is only in the *Nāṭaka* that the type reaches its perfection with royal heroes and the introduction of purely human and romantic themes by the side of mythical ones. On the other hand, the *Vīthi* was largely a series of witty dialogues, the *Bhāṇa*, a monologue of adventure and the *Prahasana* combined humour and satire and characters below the rank of royalty. The *Prakaraṇa* perfected the social play. As Bharata says, the *Nāṭaka* and the *Prakaraṇa* are the two perfected types of play.

About the *Prakaraṇa*, Bharata says that it is a kind of play in which the poet invents the dramatic plot (*vastu*) and the dramatic construction appears to be original (*autpattika*). It is not necessary for the dramatist to rely on epic legends in costructing the *Prakaraṇa*. While in its fullness and organisation, the *Prakaraṇa* resembles the *Nāṭaka*, its distinctiveness comes out as much in its characters as in its themes and plot. It is in these that the typical urban character of the *Prakaraṇa* comes out so that it can be called a

romantic, bourgeois comedy. It presents the varied life and conduct of Brāhmaṇas, merchants, counsellors, priests, ministers and long distance traders or sārthavāhas. It does not emphasize an exalted hero or the deeds of gods, or royal romances; it emphasizes characters from outside the palace. Thus, it shows the *viṭa* or the man about town, the *śreṣṭhī* or chief of the merchant guild, and often courtesans or the actions of fallen women.

Thus, it would be obvious that the *Prakaraṇa* as a dramatic type seeks to represent the typical urban pattern of life dominated by merchants and bankers, ministers and counsellors, who now emerge as social heroes. The courtesans and adventurers, near about the town and essentially parasitical, play an important part in the new urban pattern in which the concentration of wealth and its consumption have become important values.

Although the *Nāṭaka* represented the deeds of famous kings, it too, was not unaffected by the rise of town life. This comes out most clearly in the elaboration of royal palaces, officials and entourage. Eighteen kinds or employees in the *antaḥpura* have been described in the *NŚ* and they include diverse skilled professions. These include *Śilpakāriṇīs*, *Nāṭakīyās*, *Nartakīs* and *Āyuktikās*. The king's court also shows a developed administrative and judicial machinery. Thus, the world of the *Nāṭaka*, although it evolved out of the mythical and semi-mythical world of the *Ḍima* and *Samavakāra*, reflects in its mature form a social condition in which royal power is essentially centred in towns. The fact is that political factors undoubtedly played an important part in the growth of cities. From the Epics we know that the most important features of the city were the moat *(parikhā)*, the wall *(prākāra)* and the gateways *(dvāra)*. The royal palace with its public hall or *sabhā* also appears as a prominent feature of the city. The *Mbh* gives a glowing description of the *sabhā* which Maya built for the Pāṇḍavas. Patañjali mentions the *Candragupta-sabhā*. Buddhist sculptures depict the *Sudharmā*. It follows, thus, that the growth of the city and the growth of royal power and pomp took place together. Corresponding to the two aspects of urban life, namely the royal palace and officials, and trade and commerce, we have their representations in the *Nāṭaka* and the *Prakaraṇa*. The former concentrated on royal and aristocratic life with its wars and romances and the *Prakaraṇa* concentrated on the affairs of the traders, bankers, and ministers, and included the shadow world of the courtesans and adventurers.

One of the clearest impcts of town life on the theatre may be

seen in the growth of theatrical architecture. From the traditional description of the origin of drama as given in the first Chapter of the *NŚ*, it is clear that plays were originally staged in the open air. It is said that the need for a covered and enclosed theatre arose out of the need to exclude unwanted and disturbing elements. The description of a prepared stage or *raṅga* occurs in the *Mahābhārata* at many places and suggests that many types of shows were presented on the stage. These would be martial sports, or dance and music. Wrestlers and jugglers are often mentioned in the context of city spectacles. As has been pointed out by Prof. D.R. Bhandarkar, there were two kinds of festive gatherings or *samājas*, one of these specialising in spectacles, the other in feasting and drinking. The former kind apparently included theatrical performances also and were celebrated on occasions like the famous Indra festival or Indramaha. Stage properties were used in these representations and it has been rightly suggested that Aśoka sought to utilize such spectacles for his own religious purpose—while forbidding the *samājas* involving meat-eating. In the *Arthaśāstra*, again, we hear of professionals living by the stage. It follows from these various bits of evidence that in the period from *Mbh.* to Aśoka the *raṅga* or the stage was coming into increasing use for the representation of diverse kinds of spectacles during the very period that city life was rising into importance. In fact, many years ago Bloch pointed out in *ASI* report that in the Ramgarh caves we have an excavated theatre of the Śuṅga period. Prof. K.D. Bajpai has drawn renewed attention to the significance of this discovery.

It may, thus, be assumed that the dercription of the theatre in the *NŚ* refers to covered and enclosed buildings which were used for dramatic presentation by the 2nd cent. B.C. These theatres were expected to appear as two-storeyed buildings from the outside. They had a barrel-vaulted roof giving them the appearence of a cave so that the accoustics could be properly attended. The seats arranged in rising tiers with separate places made out for persons belonging to the different *varṇas*. The green room was at the western-most end and was demarcated by pillars, curtains and doors. To its east lay the *raṅgaśirṣa* in which the orchestra (*kutapa*) was placed, close to the *nepathya*. Further east and a little lower lay the principal part of the stage, the *raṅga-pītha*. Beside it was constructed the *Mattavāraṇī* and the *ṣaḍdāruka*. The interpretations of both of these are highly disputed. The constuction of the theatre involved the use of brick, stone and wood. The pillars had ornamental mouldings, brackets and carvings. The *śālabha-*

ñjikās are mentioned in this context.

Tatra stambhāḥ pradātavyāḥ tajjñairmaṇḍapadhāraṇe/
Dhāraṇīdharanāste ca śālastrībhiralaṁkṛtāḥ// – *NŚ*, 2.95.

The pillars were to be provided for supporting the *maṇḍapa*, and in this the advice of experts was to be followed. They were to support beams and brackets (*dhāraṇīs*) and were to be ornamented by *śālastrīs*. Prof. U.N. Roy has pointed out that originally *śāla-bhañjikā* referred to a kind of *udyāna-krīḍā* popular among women, but from the Maurya-Śuṅga-Sātavāhana age it yielded place to a popular art motif which represented a charming lady bending the branch of a *sāl* tree and standing cross-legged under it, with one of her hands placed on the hip and the elbow stretched outward in a graceful style. Three distinct groups of *śālabhañjikās* could be noticed in artistic representations as pointed out by Prof. Roy. These are "(i) *Toraṇa-Śālabhāñjikā* (i.e. a tall and slender beauty engraved on the brackets of an arched gateway). (ii) *Stambha Śālabhañjikā* (i.e. an enchanting lady carved on the face of a rail post), and (iii) *Caitya Śālabhañjikā* (i.e. a charming beauty embellishing a caitya window)." The *śālastrī* of the *NŚ* obviously belongs to the second of these categories since it is expressely mentioned as a decoration of these pillars.

It is, however, to be remembered that the *NŚ* is still dominated by the ancient tradition of wooden architecture. Thus, it says in the context of wood-work *(dāru karman)*:

ūhapratyūhasaṁyuktaṁ nānāśilpaprayojitam /
Nānāsañjavanopetaṁ bahuvyālopaśobhitam //
Saśālabhañjikābhiśca samantāt samālaṁkṛtam /
Niryūhakuharopetam nānāgrathitavedikām //
Nānāvinyāsa saṁyuktaṁ citrajālagavākṣakam /
Supīṭhadhāriṇīyuktaṁ kapotālisamākulam //
Nānākuṭṭimavinyastaiḥ stambhaiścāpyupaśobhitam /
Evaṁ kāṣṭhavidhiṁ kṛtvā bhittikarma prayojayet //

—*NŚ*, 2.75-78

Here we have a number of technical terms relating to sculpture and architecture. The meanings of these terms are not always clear. Abhinavagupta, the sole ancient commentator whose work on the *NŚ* survives, has already given a number of varying explanations of some of these terms. Thus *ūha* is explained as a wooden element which projects out from the top of the pillar (*stambhaśiras-odūrairgatam kāṣṭham*). *Pratyūha* is the beam which projects out still further *(pratyūhastato nirgatatulā)*. It may be suggested that *ūha* was a bracket attached to the capital of the pillar while the

pratyūha was the beam or architrave which the bracket supported. *Niryūha* projected still further (*niryūhastulāntān nissṛtaḥ phalakabhittimayaḥ*). Perhaps *ūha* and *pratyūha* were two brackets balancing each other, while the *niryūha* constituted a flat and projecting member at the top which they supported. These elements were carved or sculptured (*nānāśilpaprayojitam*). *Sañjavana* was an entablature (*phalaka*) projecting from the *niryūhas* into space (*sañjavana phalakaḥ niryūhān nissṛtaḥ ākāśe bhittivyākhyaḥ*) The figures of *vyālas* which included natural and mythical animals, adorned these elements and Abhinava informs us that these carved figures were called *anubandhas*. *Kuharas* are explained as the carvings of mountains, cities, bowers and caves (*kuharāṇi parvatapuranikuñjagahvararūpāṇi*). *Śālabhañjikās* are explained generally as lovely wooden images or rather as wooden images of lovely females—*śālabhañjikāḥ kāṣṭhamayāḥ kāntā-pratikṛtayāḥ*. The GOS text makes it *prakṛtayāḥ* which does not give a suitable sense. The *vedikās* or railings were to have diversely carved figures (*nānākṛtibhirgrathitā vedikāścaturasrikāḥ*).

The walls were to be burnished and polished and plastered with lime :

> *Sudhākarma bahisstasya vidhātavyam prayatnataḥ* /
> *bhittiṣvatha viliptāsu parimṛṣṭāsu sarvataḥ* //
>
> —*NŚ*, 2.83

When the walls were given a smooth surface (*samāsu jātaśobhāsu*) pictures were to be painted on them (*citra-karmaprayojayet*). In these paintings men and women were to be represented (*citrakarmaṇi cālekhyāḥ puruṣāḥ striyāstathā*). Besides, bands of creepers (*latābandhāḥ*) and one's own experiences and deeds could also be depicted (*caritam cātmabhogajam*). Abhinava interprets *latābandha* to include the dance figures called *piṇḍībandha*. We may conclude this section by saying that the architecture of the structural theatres, the elaborately carved and ornamental pillars, sculptured statuettes and musical paintings, all of these indicate a developing urban context.

It was mentioned before that an integral part of the stage was constituted by the orchestra or *kutapa*. This incuded the singer and his wife and several musicians who played on string instruments and percussion instruments. While it is true that the tradition of musical displays must have been ancient as shown by the antiquity of the *gāndharva veda*, the combination of music including feminine singers with dramatic spectacles could have come about only when the *kaiśikī vṛtti* was introduced into them, that is to say, when the developed forms of *Nāṭaka* and *Prakaraṇa* were evolved. As has

already been suggested, these forms belong to an urban context and the formal inauguration of the musical orchestra with the staging of drama is indicative of a similar context.

At the same time a basic change was taking place in the very character of music. By the side of the ritualistic *gandharva* was growing up a popular and theatrical music exemplified by the *grāma rāgas* and the *dhruvā gāna*. The music did not depend solely on the purity of notes and elaborate patterns of *tāla* but also on the words of the song and its emotional suggestion. That is why it could combine so well with the drama helping to prepare the spectators for the dramatic effects.

The over-all dramatic effect was described by Bharata as *rasa* and it was essentially a recognition of entertainment value. Just as the *gāna* music emphasized the immediate melodious effect or *rañjana* in place of the *adṛṣṭa* emphasized in *gāndharva*, the *nāṭya* emphasised the pure entertainment which arose from the the skilled representation of human joys and sorrows. As the Vedic literature shows, the rural pattern of life was then bound up with the cycle of seasonal festivals and rituals. The urban pattern of life was necessarily more abstract and emphasized the imaginative representation of life in place of ritual participation in it. This growing role of element of representation may be seen in the increased role of money and coinage, sculpture and drama, for which the words used are *rūpya*, *rūpa* and *rūpaka*. All of these mean a representative form. From the contemplation of such representative forms and representations, the entertainment which follows is of a unique kind. It is not the direct pleasure derived from original things themselves but it is an imaginative entertainment hard to define though clearly connected with human emotions and feelings.

We may sum up by saying that the emergence of the socai play as the *Prakaraṇa* and *Nāṭaka*, the evolution of theatrical architecture, the emergence of entertainment values—all these reflect diverse bonds between the growth of urbanism and the theatre.

Chapter 6

Pre-Kalidasa Theatre : Material Culture

Material conditions are generally described in two dimensions. Sometimes the conditions of social classes and their relations are classified under material conditions. A stricter use of the term indicated the conditions of the production and consumption of wealth. The most conspicuous aspect of the consumption of wealth in the form of clothes, ornaments, make-up etc. is quite prominent in theatrical representation. Behind these apparent fineries lies a rich and highly specialised tradition of arts and crafts. A brief attempt is made to present some of the material in this context as may be gleaned from theatrical literature.

Dress:—The textiles mentioned by the dramatists of this period are *kṣauma*,[1] *kauśeya*.[2] *aṁśuka* and *dukūla*. *Kṣauma* was most probably linen, *barasi* or cloth manufactured from the bark of the *baras* tree and *tārpya*, about the material of which there is some uncertainty, some taking it as silk while others as linen.[3] Linen or *kṣauma* was common and it was one of the materials used for making the robes of the Budhhist bhikṣus.[4] The *Mahāvagga* also says that blankets were made of *kṣauma* and wool.[5] In the *Arthaśāstra* (ed. R.Shama Shastry, pp.113-14) an entire chapter discusses the duties of the Superintendent of Weaving. It says that in the weaving department, threads (*sūtra*), coats (*varma*), cloth (*vastra*) and ropes (*rajju*) were manufactured. The material employed for spinning were wool (*ūrṇa*), fibres (*balka*), cotton (*karpāsa*), *tula*, hemp (*śāṇa*) and flax i.e *kṣauma* (*ibid.*, 113). *Kauśeya* was the name given to cocoon silk. *Aṁśuka* is often taken to be a kind of fine muslin cloth. Whether *aṁśuka* was a fine cloth made of cotton or silk is a debatable question. The *aṁśuka* garments could be white like the *kāśa* flower—*kāśāṁśuka*—(Prologue of Bhāsa's *Pratimānāṭaka*) or dyed in bright red.[6] *Dukūla* was a fine cloth though its exact nature is not very clear. In the *Arthaśāstra*, it is mentioned as white cloth manufactured in Bengal which was either made of cotton or cotton and silk mixed (ed. Ganapati Sastri, I,p. 194). The *Divyāvadāna* (p.396,11,23-27) says that the cloth was woven of *dukūla* fibre and wool mixed together. The later medieval lexicons equate it with fine linen[7] or woven silk.[8] Perhaps it referred to both, a particular kind of cotton textile manufactured in

Bengal *(Gauḍaviṣayaviśiṣṭaṁ karpāsikam)* or *dukūla* was a kind of bark silk manufactured by the fibre of a particular tree whose bark was pounded in a wooden mortar with water and the fibre thus obtained was then woven.[9]

The *Nāṭyaśāstra* (21,207) refers to *suraṁgaiḥ-vastraiḥ*, i.e. clothes which were well dyed. The dyers thoroughly bleached the cloth to get better colour effects. They were differently dyed in different shades, viz., safflower or *kausumbhavasana* (*NŚ*, 21,62), black or *kṛṣṇavastra* (*ibid.*, 21,63), yellow or *pītavastra* (*ibid.*, 21,61), parrot green or *śukapiñchanībhavastraiḥ* (*ibid.*, 21,64), blue or *nīlaparicchadaḥ*, red or *rakta* (*ibid.*, 21,130), *kāṣāya* (*ibid.*, 21.82) i.e. either muddy red or violet. Bharata *(ibid*, 21,78) says that there are four primary colours or *varṇas*. These were white, blue, yellow and red. All the other colours were got through a mixture of these colours and were thus termed *upavarṇas—saṁyogajāḥ upavarṇāḥ (ibid*, 21,79). *Kāraṇḍava* was got through mixing white and blue—*sitanīlasamāyoge kāraṇḍava iti smṛtaḥ (ibid.*, 21,80). *Kāraṇḍava*, then, would be light blue. *Pāṇḍu* was a combination of white and yellow—*sitapīta-samāyogātpāṅḍuvarṇaḥ prakīrtitaḥ* (*ibid*, 21,81). This would be cream or pale yellow. *Sitaraktasamāyoge padmavarṇaḥ prakīrtitaḥ (ibid.*, 21,82). *Padmavarṇa* would, then, be pink. Green was got through combining blue and yellow—*pītanīlasamāyogātddharito* (*ibid.*, 21,82). *Raktapītasamāyogādgaura varṇa iti smṛtaḥ* (*ibid.*, 21,83). This would be orange. *Kāṣāya* was got out of mixing blue and red—*nīlaraktasamāyogāt kāṣāyo nāma jāyate* (*ibid.*, 21,82). *Kāṣāya* is generally translated as 'red' or 'dark red'. But this, in fact, is a limited description. *Kāṣāya* would indicate two shades, one with a predominance of red, which when mixed with little blue would deepen the shade to a dirty or muddy red hue. The other shade would be with a predominance of blue and this when mixed with little red would give a violet or purple hue. The sanyāsin and Buddhist ascetics are said to wear *kāṣāya* garments (*NŚ*, 21,132). This would indicate the former shade of *kāṣāya*, a deep brownish red hue. The *kañcukī* is also said to wear *kāṣāya* garments—*kāṣāya kañcuka-paṭāḥ* (*ibid.*, 21,124). This *kāṣāya* is probably of a violet shade. There were many other colours which were got by mixing three or four colours (*ibid.*, 21,84). Thus we have the *vicitrāṇi vāsāṁsi* (*ibid.*, 21,129) garments of variegated colours. The members of the Pāśupata sect are also said to wear colourful clothes—*nānācitrāṇi vāsāṁsi kuryātpāśupateṣvatha* (*ibid.*, 21.132).

The religious recluses, hermits and those undertaking long

vows wore clothes made of *darbha* grass,[10] *cira*, *valkala* and *carma*.[11] Abhinavagupta explains *cīra*[12] as (a dress) of thick bark of a tree, which would mean a coarse bark dress. *Valkala*,[13] too, was a bark dress. However, contrary to *cira*, it was not thick, but fine; as an example he cites the birch bark. Abhinava explains *carma* as deer skin. As for their garments the Buddhist monks were allowed three robes or *cīvaras*[14] viz., *antaravāsaka* or loin cloth, *saṅghāṭi* or double *chādar* and *uttarāsaṅga* or *dupaṭṭā* [15] The nuns, were, however also allowed a robe for bath (*udakaśaṭikā*) and a bodice *saṅkacchikam*.

The *gṛhasthas* wore a *dhotī*, an *uttarīya*[16] or upper garment, the *prāvāraka* i.e a cloak, mantle, scarf or *dupaṭṭā*, and *śirṣapaṭṭa*[17] or *uṣṇīṣa*,[18] i.e. the turban.

As regards the *dhotī* and its variations, we get scant knowledge from literature. Here the sculpture of the period comes to our aid. The bas-reliefs of Bharhut give a clear picture of Indian dress and its mode of wearing. The *dhotī* was a piece of cloth wound round the waist and then gathered in front, passed between the legs and tucked behind In the Bharhut sculpture, the *dhotī* generally reasches below the knees and down to the middle leg. The *dhotī* was pleated in various styles such as the fan-style (*tālavṛntaka)* in which the hanging pleated end of the loin cloth was shaped like a palmette. The *hastiśauṇḍika* or 'elephant trunk' was one in which according to the *Aṭṭhakathā*, the pleated end was made to fall down in the same way as the pleated end of the *sāris* of the women of the Chola country; in the *matsyavalaka* style, the long and short borders were pleated in the shape of a fish tail; in the *catuṣkarṇaka* style the four ends of the garment were shown; in the *śatavallika* style many pleats and creases were shown. The loin cloth was fastened securely to the waist with a waist band or *kamarband* or *pheṭā* tied in a bow-shaped knot with a loop hanging on the side and two free ends of the *kamarband* on the other. *Paṭkā* was a decorative piece of cloth made to hang between the legs attached to the *kamarband*. It was either made of a narrow band of embroidered cloth or plain cloth with sufficiently long fringes at both ends, was also made with loose strings with ornamental tassels at both ends. It is remarkable that the *dhotī* in the later Maurya and Śuṅga period is very beautifully pleated and the *paṭkās* are decorated with beautiful patterns, tassels etc. The *uttarīya* or upper garment could be of varied materials viz., *darbhakṛtottarīyam (Bhāsa's Pratijñā.*, 4,2) or the *uttarīya* made of cloth made out of *darbha* grass for the recluses and mendicants. The rich wore *uttarīyas* of different kinds

of silk, for instance *sitadukūlottarīya* (*Dūta.*, 1,3) i.e. *uttarīya* made of white silk, or *pītapaṭottarīya* (*Mṛcch.*, 5.2) i.e an upper garment of yellow silk. The *prāvāraka* (*Vāsava.*, Act V) was worn by both men and women. *Prāvāra* was also an upper garment and Motichandra (*Prāchīna Bhāratīya Veśa Bhūṣā*, pp. 54,61,97,157,165 168, etc.) understands it as a *dupaṭṭā* or *chādara* (shawl). From one of the inscriptions at Sanci (Marshall, *Sanci*, I, p. 313) it seems that there was a family business of those who dealt in the sale of *prāvāras* or *dupaṭṭās*. The *Mahāvagga* (8.1.36) refers to *kauśeya prāvāra*. In the *Mṛcch.* (Act IV), Vasantasenā's brother, who is quite a dandy, wears a silk cloak or *paṭṭaprāvāraka*. Again, the *Mṛcch.* (8,22) describes a *lambadaśā viśālaṁ prāvārakaṁ sūtraśatairyuktam*, i.e a large cloak or *chādar* with long fringes and having hundreds of tassels. It seems to mean interwoven with onamental figures with various kinds of threads. The rich wore their cloaks fragrant with various perfumes. Thus, by his friend, Cārudatta is sent as a gift a *jātikusumavāsitaprāvāraka* (*Mṛcch.*, Act.I) i.e, a cloak fragrant with the perfume of jasmine flowers. In the 1st-2nd cent. A.D. wearing a *dupaṭṭā* or *prāvāraka* was quite popular amongst men and women (Motichandra, *op. cit.*, p.75).

Turbans were worn on the head by men. Sometimes the hair was left uncovered and arranged in a top knot decorated with strings and jewels. But often a turban was worn over the top knot. The hair was gathered in a top knot and the two bands of the cloth crossed exactly above the middle of the forehead also covered the knot to which both ends of the cloth were tied The turban folds were held by ornamental head clasps or brooches or diadems.[19] The variations in the turban were obtained by the various ways of fashioning the top knot, as also where it was tied. The top knot was basically either pear-shaped or elliptical. The top knot (with diadem or head clasp) could be either to the left or right side of the head—*pārśvamaulayaḥ* (*NŚ*, 21.141) or *pārśvagata* (*ibid.*, 21,140) or projecting over the forehead—*mastakinaḥ* (*l.c.*). The former type of fashion is said to be more suited to *uttama* or *madhyama* types and the latter called *śīrṣamauli* for the *kaniṣṭha prakṛtis*.[20] In fact, these sort of head dresses with top knot to the sides or protruding infront are amply illustrated in art. The kings wore crowns or diadems on their head-gears. The Commander-in-Chief, Crown-Prince and *Mahāmātra* (a high state official) could wear half crowns or *ardhamukuṭa* (*ibid.*, 21,148). The *amātya* or official, *kañcukī*, *śreṣṭhī* or the rich merchant and the *purodhā* or the priest wore winding turbans.[21]

Costumes i.e. *vāsāṁsi (adhovastra)* and *ūrdhavāmbara* (upper garment) can be generally classified into three types—*śuddha* (bright, white), *rakta* (red and various shades of red) and *citra* or multicoloured (*NŚ*, 21,109;122). The apparel of kings was gorgeous—of variegated patterns and colours. He was to daily wear such splendid clothes except on auspicious occasions and on appearing unfavourable stars, when he was to wear white clothes.[22] Old people, rich bankers, government officials, priets, merchants, or chamberlains ascetics, people of the upper castes—Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas were to generally wear bright, white clothes.[23] Pāśupatas were to wear clothes of variegated colours and ascetics and Śākyamunis were to wear *kāṣāya* robes (*ibid.*, 21,13). *Śuddha veśa* or white apparel is ordained for certain occasions for both men and women, viz., when going for *yātrās* or *devadarśana*, on auspicious occasions, when observing some discipline, on certain astronomical conjunctions, during a wedding ceremony and when engaged in some religious rites.[24]. The costnmes of the *kañcukī* and of the soldier are also referred to in the *NŚ*. The *kañcukī* or chamberlain was the attendant of the women's apartments. The term *kancuka* is rendered as a dress fitting close to the upper part of the body, as an armour, mail, a cuirass, corselet or a jacket. It was a kind of long robe used for covering the upper part of the body. In the *Arthaśāstra*, the *kañcukī*, who is the chief attendent of the inner apartments is referred to as *kañcukoṣṇiśī*, i.e, as wearing a *kañcuka* (close jacket, long robe or shirt) and a turban. The *NŚ* (21.134) refers to the *kāṣāya* or violet coloured robes of the *kāñcukī*. By thc Ist cent. A.D. with the influx of foreigners, the costumes of women in the north-west (as represented by Gāndhāra sculptures) consisted of three pieces—a sleeved tunic or shirt (*kañcuka*), a sort of petticoat and a shawl or *prāvāraka*. The *kañcuka* generally reached to the knee and in exceptional cases open d in front. The *sārī* was worn in two ways : (1) one part was wrapped round the waist and the other pleated and tucked behind; (2) one part was wrapped round the waist and the free end thrown over the shoulder. The *chādar* or *prāvāraka* is generally thrown over the shoulders. The rich wcmen wore bcautiful and expensive *prāvārakas*. In the *Mṛcch*. (Act IV) Vasantasenā's mother is said to be wearing a lovely *puṣpaprāvāraka*, i e. a cloak or shawl with flowers either woven or embroidered on it. The *Lalitavistara* (pp. 141,368) refers to *puṣpaprāvāraka*, i.e. a cloak or shawl with flowers either woven or embroidered on it. Thc *Lalitavistara* (pp.141,368) refers to *puṣpapaṭṭa* or flowered cloth. Between 2nd cent. B.C.-Ist cent. A.D. some unusual

terracotta figurines have been found from Kauśāmbī, Mathurā etc. and may represent goddesses. They wear an exceptionally heavy head-dress and heavy jewellery. Their shawl or *chādar* is discernible only from the sides or behind the legs. One such is wearing a *puṣpaprāvāraka*.[25] Cloth of gold was known as *hiraṇya* or *haryani* or *hirivastra*.[26] Apparently, the reference is to modern *kinkhāb* or brocade woven of pure gold thread. Shawls and cloaks richly brocaded and embroidered with gold threads and precious stones, *ratnasuvarṇa prāvārakāḥ*,[27] were known. In the *Mṛcch.* (Act I) the Śakāra compares Vasantasenā to the chief actress rising up for the exhibition of a new play and hence in special attire—decked in gold (ornaments) and a gold (dress) i.e. a specially resplendent brocade or *kinkhāb* dress fit for the inaugural of a new play—*eṣā sasuvarṇā sahiraṅyā navanāṭakadarśanotthitā sūtradhāriva Vasantasenā nāma gaṇikādārikā*

The Art of Make-up : Toilet and Coiffure—The desire to adorn oneself and look beautiful is innate and natural to any person, and the *prasādhikā/prasādhaka*, i.e. the beautician was just as important in the past as today. The arts of preparing cosmetics, mixing perfumes, making flower garlands and styling hair in various fashions were well developed. It was not just enough to be well-dressed, but for the men (or women) of fashion, the toilet was not complete until the cosmetics had been applied and coiffure done. After the clothes were worn the man of fashion perfumed them. Thus, the fragrance (*paṭavāsagandhaḥ*) of Cārudatta's cloak (*prāvāraka*) (Act I, *Cāru.*), assured Vasantasenā that though impoverished, Cārudatta was not indifferent to the toilet befitting a young man of high society. In the *Saundarā.* (4,26) maid-servants are described as perfuming garments. In the *Mṛcch.* (Act I), Cārudatta's *prāvāraka* is said to be perfumed by jasmine scent (*jātikusuma prāvārako*). Bhāsa too, mentions perfumes made of flowers—*sumanovarṇaka* (*Vāsava.*, Act IV; *Avi.*, Act III). Perhaps this was jasmine perfume. Among the several kinds of perfumes made from flowers, the one made from *priyaṅgu* flowers was the most famous in this period (*Jātaka.*, VI, p.336). The *gandhasamudga* or perfume casket is referred to in *Bālacarita* (Act V). In the sixth quadrangle of courtezan Vasantasenā's house, perfumes were being prepared. The various types of perfumes being prepared were (i) of safforn, (ii) musk perfume, and (iii) sandal juice and jasmine flowers.[28] The perfumer was known as *gandhika*.

Besides fumigating clothes and rooms with incense to remove bad odour, men and women were particular about body odour too.

Sweet smelling perfumes, powders, fragrant pastes and unguents were obtained from aromatic wood, resins, flowers, etc. and were used by both men and women to remove body odour. An unclean body or clothes smelling of sweat or dirt were generally detested. Fragrant pastes were supposed to possess medicinal properties. Anointing the body with fragrant pastes (*anulepana*) removed fatigue and perspiration, produced a sense of pleasure, imparted strength and *ojas*. Application of fragrant pastes (*ālepa*) imparted a steadiness to the eyes, brought a graceful contour to the face, cheeks and mouth, prevented pimples, moles and such eruptions and gave to the face a glow like that of a lotus flower.[29] *Akālaguracandana* (*Avi*., 5,1) i.e. aloewood and particularly sandal pastes were the most important type of unguents and pastes. According to the *Buddhacrita*, aloewood paste is pleasant in the cold season and sandalwood in the heat—......*aguruṇi caiva sukhāya śīte hyasukhāya gharme*...... *candaneva coṣne-sukhāya*......Thus the body was anointed with unguents and pastes, a bath was taken in perfumed water (scented with various flowers or aromatic herbs) and the hair and clothes were fumigated with incense—*surabhidhūpānuviddha iva gandhaḥ* (*Cāru*., Act I). At the time of the bath, the skin was rubbed with a flesh rubber to cleanse it of all its dirt and impurities. Flesh rubbers were generally made of terracotta and were sometimes decorated with incised linear and other patterns on all sides.[30] Shampooing and massaging was an important part of the bath and the shampooer or saṁvāhaka (*Mṛcch*.,Act III) was much in demand. To help in the elaborate toilet of the ladies a host of female attendants, well-versed in the art of preparing cosmetics, were required. The *Saundarā*. (4,26) refers to the maid-servants who prepared the unguents (*pipeṣāṅgavilepanamhi*), others who fumigated the garments to be worn (*vāsoṅganākācidavāsayacca*), or prepared the requisites of the bath (*ayojayatsnānavidhiṁ tathānyā*), and a few others who wreathed fragrant flowers into garlands (*jagranthuranyāḥ surabhiḥ srajasya*). The *Mṛcch*. (1.8) has women involved in such activities. One women pounding unguents (*ekā varṇakam pinaṣṭi*), another wreathing flowers (*aparā sumanaso gumphati*). The men, too, were no less debonair. This is apparent from Vātsyāyana's injunctions to the *nāgaraka* or man of fashion as regards his toilet. Having, got up in the morning and finished with his daily buisness, he brushed his teeth (*gṛhītadantadhāvanaḥ*). He then applied pastes and urguents to his body. The paste had to be in proper quantity —neither more nor less (*mātrayānulepanam*). Then he fumigated his hair and garments with fragrant incense smoke (*dhūpam*), applied

lac-dye to his lips and wax as lip gloss (*sikthamālaktakam*), glanced at himself in the mirror, put fragrant betel leaves in his mouth and then went about his work. A bath (i.e. a simple bath) was to be taken everyday; every alternate day, his body was massaged and shampooed.—*utsādanam*); every third day he cleansed his body with a substance which yielded lather (*phenaka*),. He had his chin and lips shaved every fourth day, and more detailed depilatory operations were carried out on the fifth day or tenth day.[31]

Aromatic powders and paints were used for painting the face and body. Thus we have the *aṅgarāga* (*Avi*., 4,19), *pītāṅgarāga* (*Buddhacarita*, 4,46), etc.[32] Collyrium was used for the eyes and lips were coloured (*NŚ*, 21,28). Lips were stained with red mineral (*aśmarāga, ibid*., 21,30) or lac-dye, i.e. *alaktaka*. Besides lips, teeth were also stained. Sparkling, white teeth were preferred, but their brilliance was increased by staining. Beautiful, young women kept their teeth either pearl white or stained them, comparable with the hue of the petals of lotus flowers.[33] In fact the staining of the teeth remained popular for long. Even in the tenth century, Rājaśekhara mentions *dantānāṁ parikarama* (*Viddha*., 2,5) as an art to be practised by young women. Hands and feet were painted with *alaktaka* or lac-dye. Women were fond of painting their faces and cheeks with artistic designs—*tilakaḥ patralekhāśca bhavedgaṇḍa vibhūṣaṇam* (*NŚ*, 21,27).[34] The designs (*bhakti*) were painted with lac-dye (*alaktaka*) in its natural shade, or in a shade resembling the colour of the shoot of the Aśoka tree.[35] The designs were drawn on the face with a paint stick or *patrāṅguli* (*Saundarā*., 4,13-14). Sometimes a part of the design was cut out from fresh *tamāla* leaves and stuck to the cheeks and the rest of the design was picked out in red (*Saundarā* , 4,20).

Dressing the hair in various styles was also an art cultivated by the people. The weaving of flowers in the hair was popular, specially with women. The courtezan Vasantasenā decks herself not just with ornaments and perfumes but wears flowers in the hair.[36] In the *Padmaprābhṛtaka* of Śūdraka, it is indicated that the hair of a lady were knotted into a bun, which she had adorned with the *vāsanti, kunda* and *kūrpaka* flowers.[37] In the Mathurā Museum there is an interesting sandstone of the Kuśāṇa period entitled Scenes from Aśvaghoṣa's *Saundarānanda*—Nanda and Sundarī in Toilet (From Gurgaon, Haryana, Ist cent. A.D.). It depicts a toilet scene. A lady looks at herself in the mirror and the *prasādhaka* behind her is braiding her long hair. A young maid stands before her bearing a tray on which there seem to be garlands. The *prasādhaka* is possibly

weaving these garlands into her long tresses, Perhaps they are *navamallikā* or *jātikusuma* (jasmine) garlands. In yet another panel, the *prasādhaka* bearing the tray of garlands, stands beside the lady. She is wearing a thick band of a garland round her neck. This might be the thick, broad *vitata* variety of garland described in the *NŚ* and which is also used to adorn clothes. What is extremely interesting is the presence of a *prasādhaka* (not a *prasādhikā*) or a male beautician to adorn the lady. In Gupta times, in the works of Kālidāsa, we have a *prasādhikā* dressing up Pārvatī for her wedding. The hair were washed, dried by fumigating with incense and then braided. Thus, in the *Mṛcch* (Act I, Prologue) the sūtradhāra speaks of the scented, braided hair of a new bride—*navavadhukeśakalāpamiva sugandham*. In contrast to the bride, the lady whose husband is away, kept unbraided locks and eyes without collyrium—*netraproṣitāñjanam...... dirghālakaṁ mukham* (*Vāsava*., 5.10) or hair made in an austere (i.e. without flowers) in a single braid—*ekaveṇī* (*Abhiṣeka*., 2.8) as Sītā in Rāvaṇa's grove. The *NŚ* (21. 67-71) gives the different types of coiffures of the various regions of the country. The women of Malwa (*Avantyayuvatinām*) had curled forelocks *sirassālakakuntalam* (*ibid*,21,67). The hair of the women of Bengal (*Gauḍināmālakaprāyam*) were styled either in a high pig tail or top knot (*saśikhā*) or the hair were plaited into a braid which was decorated with a net (*ibid*.,21,68). This could be sometimes a pearl net (*muktājāla*) or a net made of rosettes.[38] The Ābhīra women (*Ābhīrayuvatinām*) wore the hair in two plaits—*dviveṇīdhara* (*ibid*.,21,68). The women of the North-East (*pūrvottarastrīṇām*) were fond of wearing blue clothes (*nīlaprāyamathāmbaram*). They tied to the front or the sides of their head (*śiraḥparigamaḥ kāryo*) their tufts of hair into top knots (*samunddha śikhaṇḍakam, ibid*., 21.69). The women of South (*dakṣiṇastrīṇām*) wore their hair in the style called *ullekhya* (*kāryāmullekyasaṁśrayṁ*), in which the hair was tied in a *kumbhī* knot (*kumbhībandhasaṁyuktam*) i.e. shaped like a water vessel; they also wore curls on the forehead—*āvartalalāṭikam* (*ibid*.,21,70-71). The coiffure of courtezans could be vary according to their desire (*l.c*.). The munikanyās were to plait their hair in a single braid—*munikanyānāmekaveṇidhara śiraḥ* (*ibid*., 21,59).

Wearing and decorating themsleves with flowers and garlands was extremely popular with women of all regions. The *NŚ* (21.12) enumerates five types of garlands, viz *veṣṭima*[39] *vitata*, *saṁghātya*, *granthima* and *prālambita*. Bharata does not explain these names, but his commentator Abhinavagupta does. *Veṣṭima* is explained as

made of grass string or several strings braided together and resulting in one thick braid of a garland.[40] *Vitata* is explained as several strings of garlands which are mutually intertwind to make a broad band of garland. It may be used to adorn clothes too.[41] *Saṅghātya* was clusters of many varieties of flowers strung together by threads passing inside them.[42] *Granthima* is explained as the garland which beautified by knots.[43] Perhaps the flowers were strung together into knots of diverse kinds—a three flowered knot, a four flowered knot, a garland with a knot of five flowers, etc. *Prālambita*, as the word indicates, should mean that which hangs down straight. Abhinava, however, explains it as that which hangs down in a lattice or net type manner.[44] Several garlands must be criss-crossing to give such a shape. This could perhaps be used for weaving a girdle round the waist or even for decorating buildings, etc. *Kāmasutra* (1,3,15) also refers to the art of weaving various types of garlands—*mālyagranthanavikalpāḥ*. The two types of garlands wore in the hair are termed as *śekharakāpīḍayojanam* (*l.c.*) in the same text. The *Jayamaṅgalā ṭikā* draws a distinction in the weaving of a *śekharaka* and an *āpiḍa*. The *śekharaka* was basically meant for the *śikhasthāna*. It was either wound round a top knot or it hung down with the braid (or braids) of hair, much in the style as the *gajrā* is now worn in the hair, particularly by the South Indian ladies. The *āpīḍa* was worn round (*maṇḍalākāreṇa*) round the head. This was generally worn as a band of flowers, just above the forehead (like a *śīrṣapaṭṭī*) or round the middle. These could be made of a single coloured flower or of many coloured flowers. Both were the principal adornment of coiffure of the fashionable men and women.[45]

Ornaments:—Saundaryamalaṁkāraḥ, beauty is ornamentation, states Vāmana, the author of *Kāvyālaṁkāra*, the famous work on poetics. This has represented a perennial point of view in the Indian tradition. In ancient India, not only women but even men were fond of wearing profuse ornaments.

The plays of Bhāsa refer to head and ear ornaments, necklaces, armlets, bangles, girdles and anklets. *Mukuṭamaṇi* (*Avi.*,4.19) was a jewelled diadem. The *Vāsava.* (Act II) refers to a curious type of ear ornament—*utkṛtakarṇacūlikā*. This was probably an ear ornament clipped on to the ear, the upper part of which was perhaps shaped like the crest of a cock. Of necklaces, mention is made of the *kaṇṭhasūtra* (*Madhyama.*,1.4) This was a neck-chain, fashioned perhaps like a choker, i.e. closefitting on the neck. In contrast to this, was the *lambasūtra* (*Bāla.*,4,13) which was a long pendent necklace. *Hemamālā* (*Abhiṣeka.*, Act I) and *kanakamālā* (*ibid.*,6.25) were gold

necklaces. *Muktāvalī* (*Cāru*., Act III) was a pearl string. Pendents of pearls inset with coral were *parvālāntaritaiḥ......mauktikālambakaiḥ* (*Vāsava*., Act IV). For bangles two words—*valaya* (*Pratijñā*., 1.8) and *aṅgada* (*Bāla*.,4.13) are used. *Kāñcanāṅgada* (*Uru*.,1.51) was a gold amulet. Gold amulets could be beautifully studded with jewels too, e.g. a gold amult (*pītāṅgada*) studded with sapphire (*nīlamaṇi—Pratijñā*., 2.2). *Mekhalā* (*Cāru*., 1,10) was a girdle and *nūpura* (*l.c.*) were anklets.

The *NŚ* gives a detailed description of ornaments. They are said to be of four kinds, viz. *āvedhya*, which required piercing; *bandhanīya*, which had to be tied; *kṣepva*, which were worn around, and *āropya* which were simply put on (*ibid*.,21.12). Ear ornaments, like *kuṇḍala*, which require piercing of the ear belong to the group of *āvedhya* ornaments (*ibid*.,21.13). Gold strings and necklaces are examples of *āropya* (*l.c.*). Anklets (*nūpura*) illustrate *kṣepya* or *prakṣepya* (*l.c.*). The ornaments for men, whether kings or gods, are first desribed. *Cūḍāmaṇi* or crest jewel and *mukuṭa* or tiara was used for the head (*ibid*.,21.16). *Mukuṭa* was used on the forehead and *cūḍāmaṇi* on the middle of the head.[46] *Kuṇḍala* (ear-rings) and *mocaka*, *kīla* or ear top were ornaments for the ear (*l.c.*). *Kuṇḍala* was worn on the lower lobe of the ear, *mocaka* was an ear-top worn in the middle of the ear and *kīla* was an ear-top worn in a hole on the upper part of the ear.[47] For the neck are mentioned the pearl string (*muktāvalī*), *sūtraka* or neck chain and *harṣaka* (*ibid*., 21,17). *Harṣaka*, explains Abhinava, had the form of a serpent's hood.[48] *Vetikā* and *aṅgulimudrā* are both fingers' rings (*l.c.*) but with a difference. *Vetikā* denoted a plain finger band and *aṅgulimudrā* had the form of some bird or lotus-flower, etc.[49] On the forearm were worn *hastali valaya*, *rucaka* and *cūlikā* (*ibid*., 21,18). *Cūlikā* obviously indicates bangles (present-day *cūḍī*) and their location was more towards the lower half of the forearm. *Valaya* (present-day *kaḍā*) was also a bangle but thicker and could be pushed up the forearm (*bāhunālī*) too. *Rucaka* was a broad bracelet clasped on to the wrist (*maṇibandha*). *Hastali* is also said to be an ornament of the forearm.[50] *Keyūra* and *aṅgada* were worn above the elbow, i.e. the upper arm (*ibid*., 21,19). *Keyūra* was worn on the lower half of the upper arm i.e. just a little above the elbow and *aṅgada* was worn over that, i.e. on the upper half of the upper arm.[51]

Vyālambimuktika hāra (*ibid*., 21,20) was a long pearl string. *Trisara* was a three stringed necklace reaching up to the chest—*trisaraścaiva hāraśca tathāvakṣovibhūṣaṇam* (*ibid*., 21,19). *Talaka* and

sūtraka were ornaments of the hip—*kaṭivibhūṣaṇam* (*ibid.*, 21,20). *Talaka* was worn just below the navel and *sūtraka* was worn even below that.[52]

The ornaments for women are also described. *Śikhāpāśa, śikhāvyāla, piṇḍipatra, cūḍāmaṇi, makarikā, muktājālagavākṣikā* (*ibid.*, 21,22) are ornaments of the head for women. *Śikhāpāśa* was probobly the net worn by women on their hair buns. *Śikhāvyāla* was serpentine in the middle and was tied by knots. This probably means that it was coiled in the middle and was woven together with the help of knots. Around this were picturesquely formed round leaves called *piṇḍipatra*.[53] This would mean that it was a covering or netting for the hair bun or top knot which had the shape of a flower. It was coiled in the centre (the coil held together by knots) and had petals around it. Alternatively, it could be a netting for the braid—a looped knot netting for the braid as actually depicted in Gāndhāra sculpture.[54] This has a serpentine netting for the braid (the very nature of the braid itself is serpentine) and has loop like petals around it. *Cūḍāmaṇi* or the crest-jewel is worn in the centre of the head (*śiromadhye, AB*). Then follows the *makarapatra* or *makarikā*. This might be a head ornament in the shape of a *makara* or alligator. Thereafter on the upper fringe of the forehead was worn the *muktājālagavākṣikam* or pearl lattice.[55] Such an arch shaped ornament with pearl festoons worn above the forehead is depicted in Ajanta paintings. Sometimes there is only a single serpent head ornament of gold and pearls.[56] *Śīrṣajolaka* appears to be a swinging ornament since *jolaka* may have been *dolaka* originally. Abhinavagupta says that it is 'playful' (*khelaprāyam*), but a variant has *dolāprāyam*, i.e. like swing. It may have been studded with precious stones since it has been described as *śirṣobhūṣaṇam caiva vicitraṁ śīrṣajolakam* (*ibid.*, 21,23). *Kandaka, śikhipatra, sodoraka* and *lalāṭatilaka* (*ibid.*, 23-24) also seem to be head ornaments. *Śikhipatra* is of the form of a peacock's tail and is studded with variegated jewels.[57] The shape and the many coloured jewels seem to suggest that this was perhaps what is now called a *māṅgaṭikā* or *bendā*. *Veṇipuccha*, as the name suggests, might have been a netting for the braid or some ornament for the braid. *Kandaka* has not been explained and it is somewhat difficult to decipher its meaning, unless we understand the word as *kaṇṭaka*. It might then denote a V shaped hair-pin (Hindi—*kāṇṭā*) used to secure the chignon of ladies. Such hair pins are used even these days to secure firmly the hair-buns. *Sadoraka*, again, is quite puzzling, unless we take it to be *saḍoraka* i.e. 'attached with cords'. It

might denote cords (perhaps coloured silk cords) with which the hair might have been braided or silken cords twisted into a band. Such hair bands are depicted in Ajanta paintings. It may be noted that these ornaments have not been mentioned in the *Amarakośa*. *Lalāṭatilaka* (*ibid.*, 21,24) was a beautifully and variously made forehead ornament in the shape of a *tilaka*. It may have been like the beautiful ornamental *bindīs* worn on the forehead these days. *Bhruguccha* and *uparìguccha* were ornaments or ornamental decorations over the brow, imitating a cluster of flowers (*ibid.*, 21,24). *Tilaka* and *patralekhā* were ornamental drawings on the cheek (*ibid.*, 21,27).

Karṇikā, karṇavalaya, karṇotkīlaka, patrakarṇikā, kuṇḍala, karṇamudrā, karṇotkīlaka, dantapatra and *karṇapūra* (*ibid.*, 21,28-26) were all ear ornaments. Neither Bharata nor Abhinava gives the details. *Karṇikā* might have been a ear ornament in the shape of a flower. It was worn in the upper part of the ear (see *Daśa.*, 2nd *ucchavāsa*). *Kuṇḍalas* were ear-rings. *Karṇavalaya* seem to be discal ear-rings.[58] *Patrakarṇikā* seems to be an ear-ornament with a prominent *karṇikā* (middle part of a flower) and petals. Such *patrakarṇikā* ear ornaments have been depicted in Amarāvatī sculptures.[59] *Karṇamudrā* seems to be a coin (perhaps a gold coin ?) shaped ear top. *Karṇotkīlaka* was an ear-pin worn in a hole in the upper lobe of the ear. *Dantapatra* was an ivory ear ornament in the shape of a leaf. It was studded with a variety of gems—*nānāratnavicitrāṇi dantapatrāṇi* (*ibid.*, 21,26)—a beautiful ear ornament indeed. *Karṇapūra*, too, was a gem-studded ear ornament of the shape of lotus or flower. Of necklaces, the following (*ibid.*, 21,31-33) are mentioned, viz, *muktāvalī* (pearl string), *vyālapaṅkti* (serpentine string), *mañjarī* (mango spray design on the necklace), *ratnamālikā* (string of gems), *ratnāvalī* (jewelled necklace), *sūtraka* (gold neckband or choker), *dvisara* (two stringed necklace), *trisara* (three stringed), *cātussaraka* (four stringed necklace), *śṛṅkhalikā* (gold chain). For the breast (*ibid.*, 21,34) there were diversely carved *hāras*, *hāras* in which the jewels were studded in a net like fashion (*maṇijālāvanaddham*). *Trivaṇi* (*ibid.*, 21,27) was also an ornament for the breast. If taken to mean *triveṇi* it might mean a three braided ornament (perhaps of gold) for the breast. *Aṅgada* and *valaya* are said to be ornaments for the upper arm (*ibid.*, 21,33). For the *bāhunālī*, i.e. the region from the elbow to the wrist, an unusual ornament is mentioned. It is said to be like lofty dates (fruit) —*kharjūrakam socchitikaṁ bāhunālivibhūṣaṇam* (*ibid.*, 21,35). Either it had the shaps of a bunch of dates, or perhaps dates were carved

on the ornament. Others (*l.c.*) were *kalāpi* (bangle with peacock carved on it), *kaṭaka* (Hindi *kaḍā*), *śaṅkha* (conch-shell bangle), *hastapatra* (bracelet with leaves carved on it ?), and *sapūraka* (?). *Mudrā* and *aṅgulīyaka (ibid.,* 21.36) were finger rings. On the waist were worn *mekhalā*, *kāñcikā*, *raśanā* and *kalāpa*. *Kāñcikā* was of one string, *mekhalā* of eight strings, *raśanā* of sixteen strings, *kalāpa* of twenty-five, sixty-four or hundred and eight strands *(ibid.*, 21, 36-35). pearl-strings *(muktāhāra)* for queens or goddesses could also be of thirty-two, sixty-four or hundred and eight strings *(ibid.*, 21,39). *Mekhalā* or *kāñcikā* could be with a pearl-net studded bejewelled two part buckle (*talaka*).[60] A Kuṣāṇa yakṣī from the Mathurā Museum wears exactly such a pearl-net studded bejewelled two part buckle.

Among the ornaments worn above the ankles the following are mentiohed: *nūpura* was worn below the knees. *Kiṅkiṇikā* and *ghaṇṭikā* gave a tinkling sound as they were endowed with bells (Hindi-*ghunguroo*).[61] *Ratnajālaka* was obviously studded with jewels, and *kaṭaka* must have been a thick, plain anklet (*ibid.*, 21,39-40). On the thighs was worn the *pādapatra—jaṅghayoḥ pādapatram* (*ibid.*, 21 40). Such a filigree leaf-like designed ornament worn on the thighs has been depicted in sculptures. Toe-rings (*aṅgulīyaka*) were worn on the toes (*l.c.*). The feet and toes were also painted with various ornamental designs with lac-dye.[62]

By the 1st cent. A.D., brisk trade was being carried on with the weṣtern world and the jewellers fashioned ornaments from a variety of precious stones, some of which were indigenous and some imported. Amongst them mention may be made of lapis-lazuli, pearls, corals, topazes, sapphires, cats eyes, rubies and emeralds.[63] In the *Mrcch.* (Act IV), in the sixth quadrangle of the courtezan Vasantasenā's house jewellers are shown fashioning ornaments studded with a variety of precious stones. Rubies were being set in gold (for making gold ornaments)—*badhyante jātarūpairmāṇikyāni ghaṭyante suvarṇālaṁkārāḥ*. Pearl-ornaments were being strung on threads of red silk—*raktasūtreṇa grathyante mauktikābharaṇān*. Lapis-lazuli were being gently polished—*ghṛṣyante dhīram vaiḍūryam*. Corals were being ground on whetstones—*śanairghṛṣyante pravālakāḥ*.

The same play (*ibid.*, 2,19) refers to ornaments like anklets (*nūpurayugalāni*), girdles studded with gems—*mekhalā maṇikhacitaḥ*, bracelets studded with gems in a net-work design—*valayāḥ ..ratnākurajālapratibaddhāḥ*. *Suvarṇakaṭaka* (Act VIII) is also referred to. At another place (*ibid.*, 1,27) a beautiful girdle with a star design carved on it is mentioned—*tārāvicitraṁ ruciraṁ raśanākalāpam*. Both

plain gold earrings—*kuṇḍala* (*ibid.*, 1.24)—and bejewelled earrings—*maṇikuṇḍala* (*Buddhacarita* 5.53)—were worn.

The society which is glimpsed in the theatre shows a great refinement of manners, customs and fashions; a refinement to which the development of oceanic trade around the 1st cent. A.D. undoubtedly contributed. The archaeological discoveries from Begram to Arikamedu attest to the affluence arising from Central Asian as well as Roman trade. This refinement is reflected in drama also.

Footnotes

1 *Urubhaṅga*, 1.53.
2 '*Pītakauśeyavāsāḥ*', Bhāsa, *Madhyamav.*, 1 5; Śūdraka, *Mṛcch.*, 5.3.
3 Even though some western scholars suggest silk, but the commentators of the *Kātyāyana śrauta sūtra* and the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*—*Vedic Index*, I, p. 308, fn.3—suggest *it* to be a linen garment.
4 *Mahāvagga*, VIII,3,1.
5 *Ibid.*,VIII,2.
6 *Raktojjvalāṁśuka* i.e. bright red *aṁśuka*. Bhāsa, *Abhiṣeka*, 4,23. *raktāṁśuka*. *Mṛcch.*,1,20.
7 Hemachandra, *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi*, III, 669; *Medinī*, 186,99.
8 *Vaijayantī*, 168,244.
9 This is also the opinion of the commentator of the *Jambūdvīpa Prajñapti*, X. In any case, *dukūla* was connected with Bengal. According to Bāṇa, *dukūla* was manufactured in the Puṇḍra region, i.e. the Puṇḍravardhana bhukti or North Bengal and was imported from there.
10 *darbhakṛtottarīyam*, an upper garment made of bark. *Pratijñā.*, 4,2.
11 *Cīravalkalacarmāṇi tāpasānāṁ tu yojayet*, *NŚ*, 21, 131. Also—
Ṛṣiṇāṁ tāpasānāṁ ca ye dīrghavratā narāḥ.
tathā ca cīrabaddhānāṁ romaśaṁ śmaśru kīrtitam.
—*ibid.*, 21,121.
12 *Cīramiti avitatā sthūlā ca vṛkṣatvak, valkalaṁ tu tadviparitam, yathā bhūrjatvak, mṛgadeśacarma.* —*AB* on *NŚ*, 21,131.
13 Bhāsa, *Pratimā.*, Act I. Sītā wears a bark dress (*valkala*) which has a gold yellow hue—*sauvarṇikamaiva valkalaṁ samvṛtam*—and shines like the rays of the sun—*valkalāniva kimete sūryaraśmayaḥ*, 1.9.
14 *Mṛcch.*, Act VIII. It is interesting to note that the Buddhist mendicant is not mentioned at all in the *Cārudatta* of Bhāsa.

15 Vide, Dr. Upasaka, *Dictionary of Early Buddhist Monastic Terms.*

16 *Pratimā.*, Act I; *Bāla.*, 4.1. etc. The *NŚ*, 21,129 has the word *urdhvāmbara* for upper garment.

17 *Sapaṭṭena śirṣeṇa—Cāru.*, Act I.

18 *Mṛcch.*, 5,19.

19 *granthimatkeśamukuṭāḥ kartavyāḥ*, *NŚ*, 21,144.

20 *madhyamā maulinaścaiva kaniṣṭhāḥ śirṣamaulinaḥ—ibid.*, 21,142; *uttamāscāpi ye tatra te kāryāḥ pārśvamaulina—ibid.*,21,145.

21 *amātyānāṁ kañcukināṁ tathā śreṣṭhipurodhasām veṣṭanābaddha-paṭṭāni pratiśirṣāṇi kārayet—ibid*, 21.149.
Viracitabahucīraḥ pāṇḍarābaddhapaṭṭa (*Pratijñā.*, 4,3)—white turban made up of a lot of cloth. This probably indicates the same heavy, winding turban as indicated in the *NŚ*

22 *citro veśastu kartavyo nṛpaṇāṁ nityameva ca kevalastu bhavedcc-hudo nakṣatropātamaṅgale*, *NŚ*, 21,136. Also *nṛpāṇām* .... *ca citro veśa udāhṛtaḥ*, *ibid.*, 21,125.

23 *Vṛddhānāṁ puruṣāṇāṁ ca śreṣṭhyamātya purodhasāṁ vaṇijāṁ kāñcukiyānām* ....*śuddha vastravidhiḥ* ....*ibid.*, 21,126-27. According to the Chinese traveller I-tsing, the Indians in general, including the officers and people of the higher classes, wore a pair of soft white cloth as garment—*A Record of the Buddhist Religion as Practised in India and the Malay Archipelago*, pp 67-68, tr. by J.Takakusu, Oxford, 1896.

24 *devābhigamane caiva maṅgale niyamasthite/tithinakṣtrayoge ca vivāhakaraṇe tathā//dharmapravṛttam yatkarma striyo vā puruṣo vā/veṣasteṣāṁ bhavedcchuddho ye ca prāyatnikā narāḥ—ibid.*, 21 123-24. Abhinavagupta commenting on *śuddhaveṣa* says—*śuddha iti śuklavastrādiḥ prāyaḥ—AB* on *ibid.*

25 E.H. Johnston, 'A Terracotta Figure at Oxford', *JISOA*, 1942, pp.94-102; See Moti Chandra, *Bhāratīya Veśa Bhūṣā*, p. 82, plate 9; also p. 84, fig. 106. It does not seem to be a flowered background as held by Moti Chandra, but a *puṣpaprāvāraka.* There is a similar terracotta female figurine from Kauśāmbī (dated 2nd cent. B.C.), now in the Allahabad Museum. The plaque shows a similar woman (or Śrīdevī?) with ornamental headdress and jewellery. On her back hangs an ornamental *dupaṭṭā* or *prāvāraka* which is visible only behind the knees. Kala, S.C., *Terracottas in the Allahabad Museum*, p.15; also fig. 21.

26 *Divyāvadāna*, p 316,23-27; *Lalitavistara*, p.158,18.

27 *Divyāvadāna*, p.316,23-27.

28 *Śoṣyante ārdrakuṁkuṁprastaraḥ sāryante kasutūrikā. Viśeṣeṇa ghṛṣyate candanarasaḥ. Sayojyante gandhayuktayaḥ*—*Mṛcch*., Act IV, *jātikusumavāsitaḥ* (*ibid*., Act I) has already been mentioned.

29 Suśruta, *Cikitsāsthāna*, pp.39-41. The entire thing has a great relevance in the modern context, where women have great faith in the efficacy of facial massages, herbal face masks (made of fragrant *anulepas* like *candana*, *rakta-candana*, *bilva* or *bela* etc.), herbal face lifts etc. This is nothing but a continuation and legacy of the past.

30 A unique terracotta skin rubber (Jhusi, near Allahabad, 2nd cent. A.D.) in the Allahabad Museum contains a feathered man and a woman with bird tails meeting face to face. The man has curly hair and the woman's hair is arranged in a top-knot.

31 *Kāmasūtra*, 1.4.5. and 1.4.6 (ed. Devadatta Sastri, pub. in Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series, Varanasi, 1964).

32 These perhaps served the same purpose as foundation lotions these days. These lotions have different shades—pink, or a pale-shade or a brownish shades to suit various complexions—fair, wheat, brown etc. In the same way the *sitāṅgarāga* must have enhanced fair complexion, the *pītāṅgarāga* must have suited pale complexion ete.

33 *Netrayorañjanaṁ jñeyamadharasya ca rañjanam/dantānāṁ vividho rāgaścaturṇāṁ śuklatāpi vā // rāgāntaravikalpo'tha śobhanenadhikojjvalaḥ/mugdhānāṁ sundarīṇāṁ ca muktābhāsitaśobhanāḥ// suraktā vāpi dantāḥ syuḥ padmapallavarañjanāḥ/aśmarāgāddyotitaḥ syādadharaḥ pallavaprabhaḥ* //—*NŚ* 21.28-30.

34 *Tilaka* was an ornamental *bindī* type design on the forehead. In the *Kāmasūtra* (1.3.15) *viśeṣakacchedyam* is included as one of the sixty-four arts. The *Jayamaṅgalā Ṭīkā* of Yaśodhara explains this as *viśeṣakastilako yo lalāṭe dīyate, tasya bhūrjādipatramayasyānekaprakāram chedanamevacchedyam*. Sometimes the *viśeṣaka* or *tilaka* mark was painted dark grey or black, probably with black agallochum. This would probably enhance the fairness of a woman. Thus the *vidūṣaka* gives some such an analogy in the *Mṛcch*. (1.8)—*āyāmitandulodakapravāha rathyā lohakaṭāhaparivartanakṛṣṇāsāra kṛtaviśeṣakeva yuvatyadhikataram śobhate bhūmiḥ* i.e. the passage full of a long stream of rice-water and the floor, which is dark-grey by reason of the iron saucepans having been moved over it, is now looking more charming, like a woman with a *tilaka* mark painted (on her forehead).

Tilaka and *patralekhā* designs can be seen on the faces of some *yakṣīs* at Bharhut. The sun and moon are on the cheekbones of yakṣiṇī Candā and several flowers on her cheek and chin. The goddess Sirimā has a single star or flower on her left cheekbone. There are others which are more profusely ornamented.

35 *Tathālaktakarāgaśca nānābhaktiniveśitaḥ / aśokapllavacchāyāḥ syāt svābhāvika eva ca // NŚ*, 21.41-42; also *Saundarā.*, 4.20.

36 *Keśeṣu kusumānyāsaiḥ – Cāru.*, 1.22; again *keśeṣu kusumāḍhyeṣu —Mṛcch.*, 1.40.

37 *Padmaprābhṛtaka*, 25 (अ). See also 9.7; 20 (इ) and 31 (आ). *Caturbhāṇi*, tr. Moti Chandra, Bombay, 1959.

38 Vogel, *La sculpture de Mathurā*, P1.XLV.

39 Moti Chandra has mistaken *veṣṭima* for *ceṣṭita* and translated it as a garland 'set in motion', which does not make much sense. Moti Chandra, *Costumes, Textiles, Cosmetics and Coiffures in Ancient and Mediaeval India*, p. 209.

40 *Veṣṭiman tṛṇaveṣṭanayā nirmitaṁ bahumālaveṣṭanakṛtam vā* (*AB* and *NŚ*, *ibid.*). The Jaina text *Niśithacūrṇi* (although much later in date) says that the five coloured garlands of Mathurā were made with grasses like *virana* and were very famous—*Vīraṇatiṇehi pañcavaṇṇamāliyāo kiramti jahā mahuraye, NC*, 2, p.396.

41 *Vitatamityāveṣṭitānyonyāśliṣṭamālā-samūhātmakaṁ vastradhāreṇabhayenombhitam vā, AB* ad *NŚ*, *ibid.*

42 *Saṁghāṭyaṁ vṛttam vā āsyacchidrāntaḥ prakṣiptasūtraṁ bahupuṣpagucchombhitaṁ vā*, *l.c.*

43 *Granthimaṁ granthibhirumbhitam vā*, *l.c.*

44 *Prālambitamiti jālādiparyantavyāptikam*, *l.c.*

45 *Śekharakāpiḍayojayamiti..................tatra śekharakasya śikhāsthāne vālambananyāsena paridhāpanāt. Āpīḍasya ca maṇḍalākāreṇa grathitasya kāṣṭhika* (?) *yogena paridhāpanāt. Nānāvarṇaiḥ puṣpairviracanam yojanam................Tadubhayam nāgarakasya pradhānaṁ nepathyāṅgam—Jayamaṅgalā* commentry on *Kāmasūtra*, 1.3.15.

46 *cūḍāmaṇiḥ śiromadhye mukuṭo lalāṭordhve—AB* on *NŚ*, 21.117.

47 *Kuṇḍalamadharapālyaṁ mockaṁ karṇaśaśkulyā madhyacchidre kṛtam, kila urdhvacchidre uttarakarṇiketi prasiddhā*, *l.c.*

48 *Harṣakamiti samudgakaṁ sarpādirupatayā prasiddham* (*l.c.*). Since one cannot have a necklace resembling a casket, it must mean the concave shape of casket or its lid and in this sense it would resemble the form of a serpent, i.e. the concave shape of its hood.

49 *Vetiketi sūkṣmakaṭakarūpā aṅgulimudrā pakṣipadmādyākārenopetā, l.c.*

50 *Rucaka iti karagolake vitataḥ tata urdhve culiketi prasiddho nikuñco' grabāhusthāne-etanmaṇibandha vibhūṣaṇam—AB on NŚ*, 21.18. Is *hastali* possibly *hastatali ?* If so, then it would indicate an ornament worn to adorn the upper side of the palm. Even now such an ornament is worn and is called *hathaphūla.* But now it worn only by women.

51 *Keyūraḥ kurparasyordhvataḥ, tayorurdhve-tvaṅgade. l.c.*

52 *talakam nābheradhaḥ; tasyapyadhaḥ sūtrakam, l.c. Talaka* was a girdle possibly with a buckle and *sūtraka* tied with a cord.

53 *Śikhāvvālaḥ nāgaḥ granthibhirupanibaddho madhye karṇikāsthāniyaḥ tasyaiva dalasandhānatayā citraracanāni vartulāni patrāṇi piṇḍipatrāṇi–AB* on *NŚ*, 21.22. *Karṇikāsthāna* is the inner, central portion of a flower where the stamens etc. are located.

54 Moti Chandra, *Costumes, Textiles, Cosmetics and Coiffures in Ancient and Mediaeval India*, p. 212.

55 *tato makarapatraṁ* (*makarikā*), *tato lalāṭāntamuktajālikā toraṇaṁ jālikādirūpeṇa prasiddhā—AB* on *NŚ*, 21.22.

56 *Sarpasyaiva vā śirasā ekameva suvarṇamuktāmaṇicitritam, l.c.*

57 *Śikhipatraṁ mayūrapiñchākāro-vicitravarṇamaṇiracitaḥ. l.c.*

58 *Karṇavalaya* probably denotes discal earrings—concentric circles round a central boss or dot. Such earrings have been found from the Śuṅga-Kuṣāṇa period and continue very late. A male gaurdian from Bharhut railing wears such *karṇavalayas* where there are five concentric circles round a central dot. During the Kuṣāṇa period, these discal earrings were quite popular. For example, a woman carrying a covered basket (Mathurā Museum) wears a pair of large discal earrings. In the Gaṅgā valley such discal earrings have been excavated from the fifth century B.C. to the second century A.D. But actually their antiquity dates much earlier. They were popular in ancient Egypt too. Two women painted on the tomb of Neb-amun at Thebes around 1400 B.C. depict such earrings. One holds a lotus and wears the *karṇavalaya* type of earrings with concentric circles. The other one wears plain round earrings resembling a coin—probably the *karṇamudrā* type mentioned by Bharata. Another part of a wall painting from the tomb of Neb-amun in the British Museum (XVIIIth Dynasty) depicts three women wearing three different types of earrings. To the left end, a woman playing a double flute wears the *karṇavalaya* type of earrings with concentric circles. The one to the right corner wears plain

kuṇḍalas. The one in the centre wears earrings which can be termed petaliformed. If so, then they would be like the *karṇapūra* ornament. If these are interpreted as beams outside a central circle, then they would be akin to *cakrakuṇḍalas.* See, Postel, M., *Ear Ornaments of Ancient India*, p.271.

59 *Ibid.*, p. 231, fig. 1; fig. 3; also p. 219 fig. 2. In our opinion these drawings illustrate the *patrakarṇikā* ear ornament. They have a prominent *karṇikā* portion with leaves. The dots showing the pollen might have been gem-studded.

60 *muktājālādhyatalakam mekhalā kāñcikāpi vā. Ibid.*, 21,36. *Talakamiti kavāṭadyvayayojitam—AB* on *ibid.*, 21.36.

61 *nūpuro janvadhaḥ—AB* on *NŚ*, 21.39. Such ornaments, worn prolifically on the shank, below the knee but well above the ankles, are often depicted in sculpture. *Kiṅkiṇikā ghaṇṭikālagnā, l.c.*

62 *aṅguṣṭhatilakaścaiva pādayośca vibhūṣaṇam tathālaktakarāgaśca nānābhaktiniveśitaḥ—ibid.*, 21.41. *(aṅguṣṭha) tilaka iti vicitraracanākṛtaḥ—AB* on *ibid.*, 21.41.

63 *Vaiḍūryamauktikapravālakapuṣparāgendranīlakarketarakapadmarāgamarakata—Mṛcch.*, Act IV.

Chapter 7

Social Glimpses from Kalidasa

The works of Kālidāsa present a vivid picture of bustling city life, lofty mansions, wealthy people who lived a life of luxury and patronised the arts, their ornaments, amusements and a brisk trade and economy. Briefly, the picture presented is one of oppulence and all round prosperity. As such, the works of Kālidāsa are important not only from the point of view of Sanskrit literature, but are of invaluable help for the socio-cultural history of the Gupta period.

As regards city architecture the *Raghuvaṁśa* describes gateways or *toraṇas* (7,4), turrets, terraces, ramparts (16,11) temples or *pratimāgṛha* (16,39) and mansions. There are several terms for different buildings. *Veśma, niketana, sadma, āgāra, mandira, prāsāda, harmya*[1] and *vimāna*[2] were large, palatial buildings or mansions. The mansions of the rich were marked by great elegance and luxury. They are said to be white-washed (*saudhagata*), with painted drawing rooms (*sadmasu citravatsu*), gold latticed windows (*cāmikarajālavatsu*) and as having lily pools (*gṛha dīrghikā*).[3] There are descriptions of jewelled mansions (*maṇiharmyas*) having jewelled stairways (*sphaṭikamaṇiśilāsopāna*).[4] There were splendid houses with water fountains—*vicitra jalayantramandira*.[5] In fact, a passage in the *Raghuvaṁśa* (16,49), describes how rich men passed their time in the summer days lying on marble seats washed with sandal paste and surrounded by cool watery sprays thrown out by mechanical means i.e. by water fountains. The same text (19,42) describes the winter dwellings—interior rooms free from winter wind—*garbhaveśmasu nivātakukṣisu.* The *Ṛtusaṁhāra* (5,2) describes the interior of the house with closed windows and fireplaces for winter—*niruddhavātāyanamandirodaramhutāśane.* Such mansions had domesticated peacocks (*bhavanaśikhino*) and golden perches with crystal slabs (*sphaṭikaphalaka kāñcani vāsayaṣṭiḥ*) for their roosting.[6] The gardens had ponds, rockeries (*krīḍāśaila*), bowers of creepers (*mādhavimaṇḍapa*), hedges of golden plantation trees and of *kurbaka*.[7] The palaces and mansions were furnished with jewelled lamps (*ratnapradīpa*),[8] mirrors set in gold (*hiraṇyamaye ādarse*),[9] gold footstools (*tapanīyapīṭhikā*),[10] ivory stools (*gajadantāsana*), table cloth (*uttara-*

chadma), bed cover (*pracchada*) and flower couches (*puṣpaśayana*)[11] and curtains (*tiraskariṇī*) outside doors.[12]

The works of Kālidāsa portray a picture of brisk trade and commerce and prosperous economy and agriculture. The *Meghadūta* (*Pūrva*, 33) describes the city of Ujjayinī with markets flooded with precious goods. The *Abhijñānaśakuntalam* (Act VI) refers to sea trade and merchants (*samudravyavahārī sārthavāha*). When the death of a childless merchant is reported his property was to be confiscated by the state. The *Raghuvaṁśa* (14,30) too, describes prosperous merchants, rich shops and beautiful city gardens and brisk trade (17,64). It describes the construction of bridges, elephant taming and agriculture (16,2). There were plentiful rains, no epidemics, safe water-ways for mariners and ample treasury (17,81). There were prolific jewel mines, elephant forests and corn-fields (17.66). In the rural areas there were fields with an abundant crop of ripe paddy (*śāli*) and sugarcane.[13] The grounds are said to be covered with ripened *kalama* rice.[14] The king received 1/6th of the produce as revenue.[15]

The king's administrative set up was assisted by *sāmantas* or feudal lords,[16] *viṣayapatis* or provincial governors,[17] *senāpati* or general, *antaḥpāla* or guardians of borders, *parivrājika* or judge,[18] *rāṣṭriya rakṣin* or police officer,[19] *kañcukī* or chamberlain, *pratihāra rakṣī* or keepers of the doors of the harem, *śilpasaṁghān*, etc.[20] The king was to rule by the policy of *sāmadānabhedanigrahasiddhi*[21] The ultimate values of society are stated as *dharmārthakāmamokṣa*.[22]

Much can be gathered about costumes, cosmetics and the art of make-up, coiffures and ornaments from the works of Kālidāsa. As regards textiles, the basic types remain *dukūla*, *kṣauma*, *kauśeya*, *patrorṇa* and *aṁśuka*. *Dukūla* seems to be a kind of bark-silk made from some kind of plant fibre. According to Bāṇa, *dukūla* was manufactured in the Puṇḍra region, i.e. the Puṇḍravardhana bhukti or North Bengal and was imported from there. *Dukūlayugmam* or a pair of *dukūla* silk garments were presented to the bridegroom by the bride's father during the wedding ceremony.[23] The *Kumārasambhava* (5,67) refers to the bridal silk dress embroidered or woven with swans—*vadhūdukūlam kalahaṁsalakṣaṇam*. The *Raghuvaṁśa* (17,24) refers to the *haṁsacinhadukūla* worn by prince Atithi during his coronation ceremony, as he is said to be the bridegroom of the princess of fortune. In the *Harṣacarita* (7th *ucchvāsa*) too, Harṣa sets out for *digvijaya* wearing a swan bordered *dukūla*. The painting of figures wearing a wrap with a *haṁsa* motif arranged in curved diagonal rows can be seen in Ajanta Cave I (6th-7th cent.

A.D.). It seems that costumes with swan bordered motif were common for auspicious occasions. Ladies wore lower garments or *nīvi* of *dukūla* silk, fastened to their hips by girdles.[24] In summers that *nīvi* used to be of very fine white *dukūla* silk.[25] *Dukūla* and *kṣauma* are both mentioned in the *Arthaśāstra* (2,23). *Kṣauma* was either linen cloth or woven silk. While leaving the āśrama of Kaṇva, Śakuntalā wore a dress of cream silk—*indupāṇḍukṣauma*. The *Ṛtusaṁhāra* (5,8) refers to the *sarāgakauśeyabhūṣitoravaḥ* i.e. coloured silken garments for the thighs. In the *Mālavikāgnimitram* (Act. V) Queen Dhāriṇī asks for silken garments—*kauśeyapatroṇa*—for Mālavikā. Kṣīrasvāmī says that it was produced from the saliva of silk worms—*lakuchavaṭādipatreṣu krimilā-lorṇākritam patrorṇam*. Hence it was probably some kind of silk. In the *Mahābhārata*,[26] the kings of Puṇḍra, Tāmralipti, Vaṅga and Kaliṅga brought as gifts for king Yudhiṣṭhira, *dukūla*, *kauśika* and *patrorṇa* material. The *Amarakośa* (2,6,113) defines *patrorṇa* thus—*patrorṇami dhautakauśeyam bahumūlyam mahādhanam*. Thus in the Gupta period *patrorṇa* meant a costly white silken cloth. Small wonder then, Mālavikā was to wear the *patrorṇa* garment—a silk dress fit for a princess. *Aṁśuka* is often taken to be a kind of fine muslin cloth. *Aṁśuka* was a fine cloth made of either cotton or silk. The *Amarakośa* takes *kṣauma* and *aṁśuka* to be synonymous. The *Anuyogadvāra sūtra* (37) of the Jainas refers to five kinds of textiles produced by worms (*kīṭaja*) and *aṁsuga* and *cīnāṁsuga* are amongst the ones included. Another Jaina text, the *Niśithacūrṇi* (2nd *Uddeśaka*) says that the *aṁsuya* or *aṁśuka* cloth was manufactured from the inner bark of the *duggula* (i.e. *dukūla*) tree—*duggullate abbhamtarahito jam uppajjati tam amsūyam* Perhaps it was a finer variety of cloth as compared to *dukūla*. The commentator of the *Bṛhatkalpabhāṣya* (4, p.1018) also explains it as a fine, soft and shining cloth. *Aṁśuka* was of two varieties—one produced in India and the other imported from China, the *cīnāṁśuka*. This variety of Chinese silk was much imported during the Gupta period. Kālidāsa refers to it in the *Abhijñānaśākuntalam* (1,34). The *aṁśuka* was dyed in many colours. The Abhisārikā or the lady who had a rendezvous with her lover at night dressed in a *nīlāṁśuka* dress.[27] In the *Ṛtusaṁhāra* (6,19) the *kiṁśuka* groves are compared to the newly wedded bride in red *aṁśuka* dress—*raktāṁśuka navavadhuriva*. Ladies observing fasts and vows were to wear white *aṁśuka*, *sitāṁśuka* (*Vikramorvaśīyam.*, 3,12). Extremely fine *aṁśuka* cloth fit to be worn in summer is described as *niśvāsaharyaṁ aṁśukam*.[28] *Aṁśuka* was also used as breast cloth, *stanāṁśuka*, by ladies.[29] Thin breast cloth (*tanvaṁśukamunnatastana*)

was used in summer.[30] Garments of multi-coloured bands were also much worn in the Gupta period. They are often depicted at Ajanta. The *Meghadūta* (*Uttara*,12) refers to such variegated coloured garments as *vāsacitram*. The *Ṛtusaṁhāra* (6,13) describes the spring season in which women wear thin garments dyed with lac-resin and perfumed with the incense of fragrant black, aloe wood: *vāsāṁsi ....tanuni lākṣārasarañjitāni sugandhikālāgurudhūpitāni*. Clothes made of bark—*taruvalkavāsam*[31]—were common among ascetics. Śakuntalā is described as wearing a breast cloth of *valkalavastra* (Act I). There is one more textile referred to by Kālidāsa, the silken cloth which is called *netra*, a special word coined in Gupta Sanskrit. It is not found in the works of Aśvaghoṣa. Kālidāsa has used it for the first time and only once—*saṁyati reṇuraśvaiḥ ....netrakrameṇa uparurodha sūryam* (*Raghuvaṁśa* 7,39) i.e. the dust raised in the battle by the horses ....covered the sun as if with a *netra* (cloth). Mallinātha treats it as synonymous with *aṁśuka* on the authority of the *Amarakoṣa* (3,3,180) which says—*syājjatāṁśukayornetram*. The *Purāṇas*, (e.g. *Matsya Purāṇa*, 265.15) also use this word. The use of *netra* for silk gradually increased in the centuries to come.

Amongst the articles of dress we have references to the *nīvi*, *stanāṁśuka*, *uttarīya*, *kūrpāsaka*, *vārabāṇa*, *antaḥpuranepathya*, etc. *Nīvi* was the lower garment of a woman. It was a cloth worn round a woman's waist, the ends of the cloth tied into a knot in the front. *Stanāṁśuka* was the breast cloth. *Uttarīya* was a cloak or wrap. The cloak for queens is described as *ratnagrathitottarīya*.[32] Mallinātha explains it as an *uttarīya* or wrap woven with pearls—*muktāmaṇibhirgrathita*. *Kūrpāsaka* was a common dress in the Gupta period. The *Amarakośa* (2.6.118) explains it as a *cola* or bodice. The *kūrpāsaka* was generally waist length only. In Ajanta paintings, the *kūrpāsaka* bodice is in three styles, viz. sleeveless, with half sleeves and with full sleeves. In the *Ṛtusaṁhāra* (4.16; 5.8) Kālidāsa describes women wearing the *kūrpāsaka* bodice in the cold season. The reference here is obviously to the full sleeved *kūrpāsaka*. He also describes the charming (patterned or coloured) *kūrpāsaka—manojñakūrpāsaka*. In the Ajanta paintings, too, women wear half and full sleeve bodices with different colours and charming floral patterns. Bāṇa also describes the *kūrpāsaka* as *nānākāṣāya karburaiḥ*, i.e. dyed in various colours. Kālidāsa also refers to the *vārabāṇa*—*tadyodhvārabāṇam* (*Raghuvaṁśa* 4.55). Mallinātha explains this as *raghubhatakañcukānām*. The *Amarakośa* (2,8,63) treats *kañcuka* and *vārabāṇa* as synonyms. The dress of special coat worn by Samudra-

gupta and Chandragupta on their coins seems to be the *vārabāṇa*. The Gupta kings adopted it from their Kuṣāṇa predecessors. *Veṣṭana* or turban and *pādukā* or slippers are also mentioned [33]

The female inmates of the harem—the maids—wore a short (*anatilambi*) transparent dress (*nātiparyāptaveṣā*).[34] The *Mālavikāgnimitram* (Act I, Act II) has an interesting reference to the thin stage costumes (*viralanepathya*) of dancers which exhibited the grace of all their limbs (*sarvāṅgasauṣṭhavabhivyakte*). This is also borne out by Gupta sculptures which show the actresses in thin, almost transparent stage costumes as in the Gwalior-Pawaya dance scene. The dancer wears a breast cloth which is taken round her breasts, tied in a knot over her left shoulder and then falls in heavy folds. In the Deogarh dance scenes, the actresses wear sewn clothes, sewn bodices, *dhotis* in the manner men wear today. Others wear transparent, thin skirts that cling to their body and come down to the ankles.

The art of make-up, cosmetics and coiffure was a developed one. The *prasādhikā* or female beautician (*Raghuvaṁśa*, 7.7; *Kumārasambhava*, 7.20) and the *prasādhaka* or valet (*ibid.*, 17.22) were skilled in their profession.

Both men and women adorned themselves with a variety of cosmetics, perfumes, unguents and scented paints. For summers, *snānakāṣāyavāsitaḥ*[35] is mentioned, i.e. the body was anointed with perfumed oils and scented pastes, massaged and scrubbed with cleansing substances before one proceeded to take the bath. This was different from a *śuddhasnāna*, i.e. a bath without the use of any scented oils, perfumes and unguents. The body was then besmeared with sandal paste and perfumed with musk—*candanenāṅgarāgam ca mṛganābhi sugandhinā* (*Raghuvaṁśa*, 17,24). Amongst fragrant pastes and unguents, sandal paste was the most popular. However, anointing the body with other unguents was also practised to, e.g. *kāleyaka* paste i.e. a fragrant yellow pigment,[36] sandal paste mixed with *priyaṅgu* (a kind of fragrant seed, different from the plant of this name), *kāleyaka* saffron and musk (*Ṛtusaṁhāra*, 6.12). The *Kumārasambhava* (Canto VII) has an interesting description of the auspicious bath given to Pārvatī when she was to get ready for her wedding. Kinswomen who were not widows and were mothers of sons helped her with the bath. For the auspicious bath, she put on a silk dress worn below the navel and held an arrow in her hand. She was then massaged with oil mixed with tender sprouts of *dūrvā* grass and white mustard seeds.[37] The women then led her to a four pillared bejewelled saloon (*catuṣkā*), removed the oil paste with

lodhra powder and besmeared her with slightly dry *kāleyaka* unguent. She was then bathed with water poured out of gold pots to the accompaniment of the (music of) *tūryas*.

As for the cosmetics used, *lodhra cūrṇa* was also used as face powder (*Raghuvaṁśa*, 7.17, *Meghadūta*, *Uttara*, 2). This was prepared from the bark of the *lodhra* tree (possibly *symplocos reemoze* ?). It was possibly easily available in the market as the *Niśīthacūrṇi* (2nd *uddeśaka*) terms it as *haṭṭadravya*. Collyrium (*añjana*) was applied to the eyes. *Snigdhabhinnāñjana* (*Meghadūta*, *Pūrva*, 62) was glossy, powdered antimony. Its application was possibly similar to that of mascara. The *Kāmasūtra* (1,4,5) prescribes the use of wax over lips coloured with *alaktakā* or red lac—*dattvā sikthakamalaktam ca*. A thin layer of wax was rubbed over lips coloured with *alaktakā*, which gave the lips a glossy effect in the same way as 'lip gloss' is applied over 'lipstick' these days. In the *Kumārasambhava* (7.18) Pārvatī's lips are coloured and glossed in the same way *kiñcidmadhucchiṣṭavimraṣṭarāgaḥ* ....*adharoṣṭhaḥ*. Women also dyed or stained their feet with *alaktakā* or the colour of lac-resin—*lākṣārasarāgarañjitaiḥ* ....*caraṇaiḥ* (*Ṛtusaṁhāra*, 1.5 etc.). Ornamental drawings on the face for auspicious occasions were done for both men and women.

The art of coiffure is also noteworthy. *Keśasaṁskāradhūpaiḥ*[38] was practised by both men and women. This meant that the moisture of the hair was perfumed and dried by the smoke of incense, and this was quite a common and ancient practice. In the heat of the summer evenings, the tresses of the ladies, which were wet after a bath, were dried and perfumed with incense and then braided with jasmine flowers. In the course of her wedding toilet, Pārvatī too had her moist hair fumigated with incense, then got them tied into a charming knot which was encircled by garland of yellow *madhūka* flowers intermixed with *dūrvā*. Men, too, had their hair dried and perfumed with incense. Prince Athithi's hair were thus dried. Then his crest hair were first tied with garlands and then with a string of pearls and a ruby (*Raghuvaṁśa*, 17,22-23). There were other types of styles of dressing the hair also such as curled forelocks-*keśa* ....*kuñcitāgra* (*Ṛtusaṁhāra*, 3,13), *muktājālagrathitamalakam* (*Meghadūta*, *Pūrva*, 66) i.e. tresses interwoven with pearl net, flowers interwoven with a braid *alakebālakundānuviddham* (*Meghadūta*, *Uttara*, 2), a flower tucked in the hair bun—*cūḍāpaśe navakurabakam* (*l.c.*), a braid of oiled hair or *snigdhaveṇī* (*Meghadūta*, *Pūrva*, 28). The *virahaṇī* or the *proṣitabhartṛkā*, however, was not to adorn herself. She was to have a *śuddhasnāna*, a simple

braid (*ekaveṇī*), keep eyes without collyrium (*añjana snehaśūnya*) and leave the use of garlands, ornaments and cosmetics—*nirasta mālyābharaṇānulepanaḥ*.[39]

A variety of ornaments were worn and both men and women were fond of adorning themselves. Among the ornaments for the head the *cūḍāmaṇi* or crest-jewel was quite common. Yuan Chwang observes that garlands and tiaras with precious stones were the head ornaments of the kings. The king's crest hair is described as being tied with garlands intertwined with pearls and rubies. For ears, *kuṇḍalas* (*Raghuvṁśa*, 9.51) or earrings were worn by both men and women. *Kañcanakuṇḍals* (*Ṛtusaṁhāra*, 3.19) or gold ear-rings, or *maṇi kuṇḍalas* (*ibid.*, 2.19) were the different varieties of *kuṇḍalas*. The latter seem to be studded with three or four rows of precious stones. *Karṇapūra*[40] was a dangler (*avataṁśa*) ornament which covered the entire ear. The *dantapatra*[41] was another popular ear ornament. It was perhaps not a dangler, but an ear ornament which was to be clasped (*avasakta*) to the ear. *Karṇotpala* (*Kumārasambhava*, 5.47) was a lotus-shaped ear ornament. *Muktāphala patraveṣṭa* (*Raghuvaṁśa*, 16,67) were ear ornaments of pearls. Of neck ornaments are described the *hemasūtra* (*Vikramorvaśīyam*, 5.2) or gold chain and the long pendant necklace reaching upto the breasts—*stanālambihāram* (*Raghuvaṁśa*, 16,43). Pearl necklaces or *muktāvalī* (*ibid.*, 13,48), however, were the most popular neck ornament. Thus, the *muktākalāpa* (*Kumārasambhava*, 1.42), *candrāṁśuhāra* (*Ṛtusaṁhāra*, 1.28), the *ekāvalī vaijayantikā* (*Vikramorvaśīyam*, Act I) were all pearl necklaces. There were other varieties of pearl necklaces too. The *tārātaralgutikān hārān* (*Meghadūta*, *Pūrva*, 33) were necklaces of pearls with precious stones at the centre. One such type was the *ekaṁ muktāguṇaṁ sthūlamadhyendranīlam* (*ibid.*, 49) which was the one-stringed pearl necklace with a big sapphire at the centre. Another was the pearl necklace interwoven with sapphires—*indranīlaiḥ muktāmayī yaṣṭi* (*Raghuvaṁśa*, 13,54). Of the ornaments of the arms we have the *aṅgada* and *valaya* (*Ṛtusaṁhāra*, 4,3). *Aṅgada* was worn on the upper arm. *Cāmikarāṅgada* (*Vikramorvaśīyam*, 41,15) was a gold armlet. *Valaya* was a bracelet. *Kañcanavalaya* or *kanakavalaya* (*Śakuntalam*, 3,10,6,6; *Meghadūta*, *Pūrva*, 2,etc.) were gold bracelets. *Bhujagavalaya* (*ibid.*,63) was a serpent-shaped bracelet. *Mudrā* and *aṅgulīyaka* adorned the fingers. On the waist were worn *mekhalā*, *kāñcī*, *raśanā* and *kalāpa*. *Kāñcī* was of one string, *kalāpa* of twenty-five, sixty-four or hundred and eight strands. There were a variety of girdles.[42] *Kanakakāñcī*, *hemamekhalā* i.e. girdles of gold, *maṇimekhalā* or jewelled girdles,

kāñcīguṇaiḥ kāñcana—ratnacitraih i.e. waistbands variegated with gold and gems, *saphariraśanākalāpaḥ* or girdle bands with *saphari* fish designs and *haṁsasroṇiracitaraśanā* or girdle carved with a row of swans.

The *Vikramorvaśīyam* (Acts II, III) has some passing references to food. It refers to the *mahānasam* or kitchen and mentions the *pañcavidhasyābhyavaharasya* or the five types of food. These are the *bhakṣya, bhojya, lehya, peya* and *coṣya*.[43] The first of these or *bhakṣya* has to be suitably treated with some *vyañjana*. The chief *vyañjana* was *śāka*. *Kraśarā* (*khicrī* in Hindi) is an example of *bhakṣya*, i.e. rice being treated with some *vyañjana*. Abhinavagupta, the commentator of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, explains that *bhojya* is an eatable which contains clearly distinct parts of solid particles (*khara viśadam*). Examples are bread (*śaśkulī*) and solid round sweets now called *laḍḍūs* (*modakas*). *Peya* or drink was of two kinds—boiled or otherwise. The former is called soup or *yusa* Unboiled drinks are also of two kinds—fermented and unfermented. *Lehya* could be a liquid powder tasting salty, sour or bitter or a little sweet. *Coṣya* food was of the sucking variety. *Paramānnam* was *khīra*; *khaṇḍamodaka* were pieces of *laḍḍūs*; *śikhariṇī rasālam* is mango and *śrīkhaṇḍa* a dish made of curd, sugar and other ingredients. Drinking was also common and the *śauṇḍikāpaṇam* (*Abhijñānaśākuntalam*, Act VI) was a wine shop. Both men and women were equally fond of drinking. There are plentiful description of men and women drinking together with wine rippling with the breath from the mouths of sweethearts. Wine made from flowers is called *puṣpāsava*.[44] Another type of a wine was the *ratiphala*.[45] The *Mālavikāgnimitram* (Act III) refers to sugar as being a complementary to wine (*sidhu*), *śidhupānodvejitasya matsyandikā*. The latter is a kind of fine sugar, so called because it is soft and yellowish and is composed of globules like the fish eggs (*matsyāṇḍa*).

Since *nāṭya* is said to be an imitation of society (*lokānukaraṇam nāṭyam*), it is an integral part of social life. Kālidāsa himself was the greatest dramatist of the day. A close perusal of the stage techniques of the plays sheds considerable light on the theatrical conventions of the day and shows how well the language of gesture was understood by the audience. By the time of Kālidāsa, the taste in drama, dance and music had become critically rigorous and academically exacting. Kālidāsa was well aware of Bharata,[46] and his *nāṭya* conventions hardly deviate from the rules of Bharata. He observes that *nāṭyaśāstra*, i.e. dramaturgy, is primarily a practical art (*prayoga pradhāna*) and hence, he is the perfect stage craftsman

and the professional dramatist rather than merely the poet. In the *Kumārasambhava* (7.91) we have an interesting reference to a theatrical production or *prayoga*. Śiva and Pārvatī witness a drama complete with different junctures (*sandhi*), styles (*vṛtti*), *rāgas* set in appropriate *rasa* and *aṅgahāras* (i.e. sequence of dance-movements) appropriate to the *śṛṅgāra rasa*. Besides public theatres, it was usual for palaces to have a *saṅgītaśālā* as well as a *prekṣāgṛha*. The *saṅgītaśālā* was the music hall or the concert hall where queens, ladies of the harem and courtezans practised their music and dance. The *prekṣāgṛha* was the auditorium where a performance was witnessed. In the *Mālavikāgnimitram* (Acts I, II). *Mālavikā* practises dance at the *saṅgītaśālā* and the king witnesses the dance performance of Mālavikā and princess Irāvatī at the royal auditorium. Another lady Haṁsapādikā, practises music at the royal *saṅgītaśālā* in *Śākuntalam* (Act V). It was customary to engage courtezans for dancing or singing in temples before the images of gods in morning as well as in the evening. The *Meghadūta* (*Pūrva* 31,39) refers to the dancing girls in the Mahākāla temple at Ujjain. High qualifications have been laid down for the Nāṭyācārya, who was the Instructor and the Director of the performance. He was to be well versed both in the theory and practice of the art—*śāstre ca prayoge ca*. Then again "some exhibit acting very well in their own person, while others show greater skill in imparting the art to another. He who excels in both these qualities deserves a pre-eminent place among teachers."[47]

In the *Vikramorvaśīyam* (Act IV) we come across several *Prākṛta* song-cum-dances used in the theatre. *Carcarī* was both song-cum-dance and was used specially in the dramatic form termed *troṭaka*. *Khuraka* was a dance performed to five cymbals with the rāga *Patamañjarī* sung in fast and medium tempo. *Kuṭilikā*, *mallaghati* and *galitaka* are yet other types of dances. The *kuṭilikā* is done without song, and seems to belong to the style of dancing known as *tāṇḍava*. *Galitaka* uses *abhinaya* too. In the *Mālavikāgnimitram* (Act II), Mālavikā performs a difficult song-cum-dance composition called the *chalitaka*. *Chalita* is described by Kātyāvana as the dance in which the dancer while acting the part of another succeeds in expressing his or her own real feelings. The composition and structure of the music to which she dances is the *catuṣpadā* composed of four *vastus* or units and is in the medium tempo. Mālavikā appears on the stage with all her limbs in the *sauṣṭhava* position, i.e. in a position of complete equipoise. She sings and enacts out the piece. The *abhinaya* is performed in the *śṛṅgāra rasa*.

Thus, we may conclude by saying that the works of Kālidāsa are a true mirror unto society. Kālidāsa, in fact, refers to the dramatic art as a 'visual sacrifice'. He goes on to say : "Herein are to be observed the actions of people prompted by the three qualities, and exhibiting various sentiments; the dramatic art is one of the chief amusements of the people, albiet they have diverse tastes."[48].

Footnotes

1 *Raghuvaṁśam*, 14, 15; 6, 34; 14, 24; 6, 43; 6, 47, etc.
2 *Meghadūtam*, *Pūrva*, 66; *Uttara*, 8. *Vimāna* is said to be a seven storeyed mansion.
3 *Raghuvaṁśam*, 7, 5; 9, 37; 14, 10; 14, 24; 16, 46.
4 *Vikramorvaśīyam*, Acts II and III.
5 *Ṛtusaṁhāram*, 1.2.
6 *Meghadūtam*, *Uttara*, 3; 19.
7 *Ibid.*, 6; 18.
8 *Ibid.*, 7.
9 *Raghuvaṁśam*, 17, 26.
10 *Mālavikāgnimitram*, 4, 3; *Raghuvaṁśam*, 18, 41.
11 *Raghuvaṁśam*, 17, 21; 19, 22-23.
12 *Kumārasambhavam*, 1, 14.
13 '*Ikṣucchāyaniṣādinyaḥ śāligopyojaguryaśaḥ—Raghuvaṁśam*, 4, 20; *ibid*, 15, 78; 17, 53; also *Ṛtusaṁhāram*, 3, 10; 3, 16. *Pariṇatabahuśālivyākulagrāmasīmā*, *ibid.*, 4. 18.
14 *Pakvakalamāvṛtabhūmibhāgāḥ—Ṛtusaṁhāram*, 3, 5.
15 *Raghuvaṁśam*, 1, 18; 2, 66; 17, 65; *Abhijñānaśākuntalam*, Act II.
16 *Vikramorvaśīyam*, 3, 19; *Raghuvaṁśam*, 5, 28; 6, 33.
17 *Raghuvaṁśam*, 5, 5.
18 *Mālavikāgnimitram*, Act I and II.
19 *Abhijñānaśākuntalam*, Act VI.
20 *Raghuvaṁśam*, 6, 20; 16, 38.
21 *Ibid.*, 11, 55.
22 *Ibid.*, 10, 84.
23 *Ibid.*, 7, 18; '*nave dukūle*', *Kumārasambhavam*, 7, 72.
24 *Nitambabimbaiḥ sadukūlamekhalaiḥ—Ṛtusaṁhāram*, 1, 4.
25 *Pratanusitadukūlanyayataiḥ sroṇibimbaiḥ—ibid.*, 2, 25.
26 *Vaṅgaḥ Kaliṅgapatyastāmraliptaḥ sapuṇḍrakāḥ/ Dukūlam kauśikam caiva patrorṇam prāvarānāpi//Sabhā Parva*, 48, 17.
27 *Vikramorvaśīyam*, Act III.
28 *Raghuvaṁśam*, 4, 12; 4, 17.
29 *Vikramoravaśīyam*, 4, 12; 4, 17;
30 *Ṛtusaṁhāram*, 1, 7; 6, 4.

31 *Raghuvaṁśam*, 8, 11.

32 *Ibid.*, 16, 43.

33 *Ibid.*, 8, 12; 12,17.

34 *Mālavikāgnimitram*, Act III.

35 *Ṛtusaṁhāram*, 1, 4.

36 *Kāleyaka* is given in the *Amarakośa* as *dāruharidra*, but that does not seem to be intended here; it is given again as a kind of fragrant yellow pigment—*athajāyakam*. According to Halāyudha it means 'saffron'—*Kāśmīrajam ca vidvadbhiḥ kāleyam jāgudam smṛtam*. Mallinātha, himself commenting on *Śiśupālavadha*, 12, 14 (*Kāleyakakṣodavilepanaśriyam*) understands it in this sense and quotes Śāśvata in support of it.

37 *Nirnābhikauśeyamupāttabāṇaṁ—Kumārasambhavam*, 7, 7. *Gaurasiddhārthaniveśavadbhihrdurvapravālaiḥ*—*l. c.* Mallinātha explains this as—*gaurasiddhārthaniveśavadbhiḥ śvetasarṣapaprakṣepavadbhiḥ*. This perhaps refers to the custom according to which when there was marriage between husband of exalted rank and a woman of a rank lesser than his, a Kṣatriya girl had to grasp an arrow by her hand as she at first did not have the privilege of directly joining her hand with that of her husband. See *Manu.*, III, 44, and also *Yājñavalkya* , I, 62. Mallinātha also quotes Manu on this. Pārvatī was thus to take an arrow in hand as she was to marry Śiva vastly her superior in rank.

38 *Meghadūtam*, *Pūrva*, 35; *Kumārasambhavam*, 7, 14; *Raghuvaṁśam*, 16, 50; 17, 22; *Ṛtusaṁhāram*, 4, 5.

39 *Meghadūtam*, *Uttara*, 31-32, 35; *Ṛtusaṁhāram*, 2, 12.

40 *Raghuvaṁśam*, 7, 27; *Kumārsambhavam*, 8, 62; *Ṛtusaṁhāram*, 3, 24.

41 Perhaps, as the name suggests, it was a leaf shaped ivory ear ornament. The *Kumārasambhavam*, 7, 23, refers to it as *Karṇāvasaktāmala-dantapatram*—a spotless white ornament clasped on the ear. The *Raghuvaṁśam*, 6, 17, says—*dantapatramāpanduram ketakabarham*. Here it is described as the ear ornament like the pale leaf of the *ketaka* flower. Bāṇa describes it as *avasaktadantapatraprabhādhavalitakapolamaṇḍalam*—the bright, white ear ornament which is clasped on the ear and which brightens up the cheeks. The *NŚ*, 21, 26, however, describes it as being studded with a variety of gems—*nānāratnavicitrāṇi*.

42 *Ṛtusaṁhāram*, 1, 6; 3, 24; 3, 3; 4,4; 6, 3; *Meghadūtam*, *Uttara*, 3.

43 Yaśodhara, the commentator of *Kāmasūtra* (1, 3, 15) explains that food is of four kinds viz. *bhakṣya*, *bhojya*, *lehya* and *peya*. The *NŚ* (1, 121; 3, 44-46) mentions *bhojya*, *bhakṣya* and *pāna*.

44 *Priyamukhodcchvāsavikampita madhu—Ṛtusaṁhāram*, 1, 3; *puṣpā-*

sava, *ibid.*, 4, 11.

45 *Meghadūtam, Uttara*, 5. The *Madirārṇava* gives it as a particular kind of wine. It was prepared as a concoction (*kvatha*) of a variety of constituents which included palm juice, milk, *miśri*, pure *guḍa* (sugar candy), thornapple kernel (*dhatūrā*), plants named *amṛta*, *kāla*, *indradruma* i. e. Arjun plant, *morara* i. e. a kind of plant with sweet juice, sugarcane, flowers of banana (*kadalī*), fragrant gum resin (*guggulaprasūnaiḥ*), all this with a dash of Aśoka flowers and sprinkling of roots of flowery trees. It was supposed to be a tasty, cool drink.

46 *Muninā Bharatena yaḥ prayogo Bharatiṣvaṣṭarasāśrayo nibaddhaḥ lalitābhinayaṁ tamādya bhartā marutām drastumanāḥ solokapālāḥ.*
—*Vikramorvaśīyam*, 2, 17.

47 *Mālavikāgnimitram*, 1, 16.

48 *Devanamidamāmananti munayaḥ kāntaṁ kratuṁ cakṣuṣaṁ Rudreṇedamumakṛtavyatikare svāṅge vibhaktuṁ dvidhā traiguṇyodbhavamātra lokacaritaṁ nānārasam dṛṣyate nāṭyam bhinnarucerjanasya bahudāpyekam samārādhanam*—*Mālavikāgnimitram*, 1, 4.

Chapter 8

Social Gleanings from Post-Kalidasa Literature

Kālidāsa holds, as it were, a central position in the development of ancient Indian theatre and literature. He is the dramatist and poet *par excellence*. His age was the golden age of synthesis and balance in every respect, which is reflected in his art also. After him there is a gradual development towards exaggeration, ornamentation and syncretism. From Bāṇa and Harṣa, Buddhasvāmin and Daṇḍin, Bhavabhūti and Rājaśekhara, we can glean charming vignettes of the social life of the age.

In the late Gupta and post-Gupta periods, while the earlier textiles continue, some others become very popular, e.g. the *indrāyudhāmbara* or the rainbow-coloured garments. They are not only frequently referred to in literature but depicted in Ajanta paintings of the period too. Of *aṁśuka* we have several varieties—*varāṁśuka*, *paṭṭāṁśuka*, *citrāṁśuka*, etc. The *netra* silk, mentioned only once by Kālidāsa, is referred to more frequently. We also come across the *patrorṇa* silk. The literature of the period clearly refers to the *pulakabandhaka* (tie and dye) and *taraṅgita* (wavy, *lahariyā*) printing of textiles, both of which are still in use, particularly in Rajasthan and Gujarat. In both of them printing blocks are not used. The cloth, which is generally fine (usually georgette or chiffon or fine silk) is tied up (according to pattern) into close, small knots and dipped into the desired colour dye. After drying, the knots are opened up. Thus they generally have the form of diamond shaped dots. The dots may have one, two or many colours. The *pulakabandha*, thus, is the same as modern *bandheja* or *bandhanī chunarī*. The *taraṅgita* (wavy) *uttarīyas* or scarves or *dupaṭṭās* so frequently referred to in the post-Gupta literature and seen in Ajanta paintings (e.g. of the king of Benares) is nothing but the present-day *lahariyā* style of *dupaṭṭās* and clothes. In this style, instead of dots there are many lines, in one, two or more colours all over, beautifully dyed in combinations of pink and white, green and yellow etc. The georgette and chiffon *lahariyā* sarees and *dupaṭṭās* are still a favourite of the Rajput ladies.

The *indrāyudha ambara* or rainbow-coloured garment is frequently described in late and post-Gupta literature. The Ajanta pain-

tings often depict the *indrāyudha ambara*—men and women in dresses of multi-coloured stripes. This was not referred to in the earlier periods. It may be noted that even now the *satraṅgī chunarī* (having seven colours of a rainbow) and *satraṅgī lahariyā* sarees are very popular in Rajasthan. In the *Kādambarī*, the town women, who were agog to see Candrāpīḍa, are described in *indrāyudharāgarucirāmbadhārraiṇyāḥ*. In the same text, the *vīṇāvāhaka*, a sixteen year lad called Keyūraka, is described as of *agrāmyākṛti* or of a sophisticated appearance. Naturally, he is a city musician and not a folk-singer as he is described as *gāndharva dāraka*, i.e. the son of a *gāndharva* singer (which was the classical music of those days). He is described as wearing an *adhovastra* or lower garment of saffron red colour secured to the waist by a gold belt. The ends of the garment were fluttering—*preṅkhitpallavamadharavāsa*. On one shoulder he wore a *varṇāṁśuka uttarīya* which looked as if of rainbow colour (i.e. of multicoloured stripes). At Ajanta,[1] we have quite a similar picture of a male musician, who is also a *vīṇāvāhaka*, who carries his instrument on his shoulder. He wears an *adhovastra* secured with an ornamental belt and a stripped scarf. The free ends of the scarf and *adhovastra* flutter in the wind. Garlands are tied round the hair tied in topknots. He wears prominent earrings and bangles, as described in this text. An *indrāyudharāgeṇa uttarīyeṇa* is referred to in the *BKSS* (3,19). The same text (18,36) refers to rainbow-coloured garment with floral patterns—*chāyaiḥ kusumābharaṇāmbaraiḥ*. The flowers were probably inter woven/embroidered/printed as a border or panel on the *indrāyudhāmbara*. At Ajanta, in Cave I,[2] on the entrance sight side, between the pillars, stands a woman wearing a skirt made of stripped silk whose most interesting part is the border which falls exactly in the centre of the skirt. The pattern consists of a chain of rosettes which might have been woven or embroidered. Bhāravi refers to *Śakradhanu* or rainbow-coloured *vicitracīnāṁśuka*[3] i.e. patterned or figured china silk with the hues of cream, blue and pink.[4] The *Mālatī*. (6,5) also has a similie which speaks or rainbow-coloured (*vyaktākhaṇḍalakārmuka*) china silk with pictures or designs interwoven (*uccitracīnāṁśuka*).

Of *aṁśuka*, there were several varieties—*aṁśuka*, *citrāṁśuka cīnāṁśuka*, *varṇāṁśuka*, *paṭṭāṁśuka*, etc. The *Ratnāvalī* (1,20) refers to *cīnāṁśuka* and *varṇāṁśuka* as a dress of safflower-red *aṁśuka*—*kausumbharāga*...*aṁśuka*. In the *Nāgā*. (Act III) the typical dress of a respectable lady is described thus—a pair of garments, upper and lower, which in this particular instance were of red coloured *aṁśuka* (*raktāṁśukayugala*) and the *uttarīya* or the wrap or *dupaṭṭā*

was worn in such a way that it not only covered the head, but a bit of the face too, like a *ghūṅghaṭ* or veil—*uttarīya kṛtāvaguṇṭhana*. In the *Daśa.* (5th *ucchvāsa*) a lady seperated from her husband is said to be without adornment, wearing a single braid, in a *kliṣṭanivasanottarīya*—wearing a worn out wrap, and as, *nīlāṁśukacīracūḍikāparivṛta*, i.e. in a worn out stripped blue *aṁśuka* dress and with a shell bangle encircling (her wrist). Stripped garments are very common in Ajanta paintings. *Aṁśuka* as *payodharapaṭṭa* (*Priya.*, 1,7) or breast cloth was popular, and *stanāṁśuka* (*Veṇi.*, Act II) is often referred to. The breast cloth could also be of china silk—*cīnāṁśukau payodharau* (*HC*, 5th *ucchvāsa*). The dress for both a bride and a woman who had resolved to perform *satī* (i.e. die before her husband) was of red *aṁśuka*.

The *Nāgānanda* (3,9) speaks of soft *aṁśuka* cloth variegated with beautiful patterns—*citrikṛācchaṁśuka*. In the *HC* (p.114), the divine lady or Śrī is described as wearing a fine, white, *taraṅgita* (i e. of *lahariyā* or wavy design) *aṁśuka uttarīya* or scarf which is inter woven/embroidered/printed with many beautiful figures of birds and flowers—*bahuvidhā kusumaśakuniśataśobhitātpavanacalitatanut taraṅgādatisvacchādaṁśukādudadhisalilādivottarantim*. In the *BKSS* (25,100) Ṛṣidattā, who wears a *citrāṁśuka* dress, looks like a garden full of flowers in spring. Possibly she is wearing a beautifully coloured, floral patterned *aṁśuka* dress. Similarly at another place (*ibid*., 28,7) the *tārābharaṇa* qualifies, perhaps, not only the ornament but also the *citrāṁśukadhara* which immediately succeeds it. Both flower patterns and star patterns are depicted on the garments in Ajanta.[5] The *varāṁśuka* (*Daśa.*, 8th *ucch.*) was an expensive cloth, as the divine females are said to be wearing such a lower garment covering their thighs—*jaghanavarāṁśuka* (*Kirāta.*, 7,14). *Paṭṭāṁśuka* (*Daśa.*, 2nd *ucchvāsa*), too, was obviously an expensive silk *aṁśuka* material. Karpūramañjarī (Act III) is said to be wearing such a pair (i.e. lower and upper) of parrot green silk garments—*rājaśukapicchanīlaṁ paṭṭāṁśukayugalakam*. In the *HC* (4th *ucchvāsa*), the queens are wearing *paṭṭaṁśūkottaraṅgaḥ*, i.e. silk or *paṭṭāṁśuka* dyed in wavy lines.

The *HC* gives a vivid picture of queen Yaśovatī's *anumaraṇa* dress. She wears an *aṁśuka uttarīya* or *dupaṭṭā* of *lahariyā* or *taraṅgita* pattern—*taraṅgitamuttariyāṁśukapaṭam*; the breast scarf is also of wavy pattern—*stanottarīyam taraṅgitamiva*—and another garment (probably the lower one) of pink *paṭṭāṁśuka*—*pāṭalaṁ paṭṭāṁśukamiva*. Her face is covered by a veil of red *aṁśuka*. In the *Veṇi.* (Act IV) too, mother and daughter-in-law resolve to die after the

warrior, clad in red *aṁśuka* and with all their ornaments *eṣā vīra-mātā samaravinihitaṁ putrakaṁ śrutvā raktāṁśukanivasanayā samagrabhūṣaṇayā vadhvā sahānumriyate*.

The bridal dress is also referred to in many texts. In the *Kumāra.* (7,11) Pārvatī, after the auspicious wedding bath, wears white (*prafullākāśa*) bleached garments (*udgamanīyavastra*). After getting dressed she wore a new silk dress (*navakṣalmanivāsinī*), which was white as moon-light or the foamy sea (*ibid.*, 7,26). The *Ṛtusaṁhāra* refers to the bridal dress as *kāśāṁśuka*. i.e. as white as *kāśa* flowers (3.1, 3.26) and sometimes as red—*raktāṁśukanavavadhuriva* (*ibid.*, 6,19). Rājyaśrī in bridal dress is described as wearing a red *aṁśuka* veil or *ghūṅghaṭ—aruṇāṁśukāvaguṇṭhitamukham* (*HC*, 146). The *Samarāiccakahā* of Haribhadra (8th-9th cent. A D.) gives interesting details of bridal costume. Prior to the auspicious wedding bath the women sat the bride to the east. She wears a white *dukūla* and a skirt of jewelled damask (*maṇipaṭṭamaya*). After bathing she is made to wear garments of red silk (*rattānsuyaparihāna*). She was waited upon by young women holding green grass sprouts and curds who were also dressed in red garments (*rattavasanehi*). Initially they applied lac-dye to her feet and saffron to her shorts (*jaṅghika*). *Patralekhā* (decorative designs) were painted on her breasts and unguent made of agallochum and sandal was applied to her. Collvrium was applied to her eyes and her forehead was marked with a *tilaka*. She wore jewelled anklets, finger rings, a jewelled zone, a pearl necklace reaching the knot of the *sārī* (*nīvi*), a two stringed necklet round her neck, jewelled *cakras* or discs in the ear and a crest ornament on the forehead. She also wore a wavy patterned *prāvāra* (*ibid.*, p. 75-78). At other places, the bride is said to be dressed in white (*ibid.*, p. 407) or fine *dukūla* (*ibid.*, p. 522). It seems that the bride wore a combination of both white and red garments and pearl necklace. This is clearly borne out by the *vivāhanepathya* or the bridal costume of Mālatī in *Mālatīmādhava* (Act VI). She wore a bodice of white silk *aṁśuka* cloth, and an *uttarīya* or *dupaṭṭā* (with which the bride probably also covered her head) of red coloured *aṁśuka—dhavalapaṭṭāṁśukacolakametaccottarīyaratavarṇāṁśukam*. With the red and white costume she wore a pearl necklace (*mauktikahāraḥ*), sandal paste (*etaccandanam*) and a chaplet of white flowers (*sitakusumāpīda*) probably for the hair.

Literary and art references of the period show that thin, fine cloth, either white or patterned was quite popular.[6] Such diaphanous drapery was termed *magnāṁśuka* (*HC*, p.166) or *ārdrāṁśuka* (*Karpūra.*, 1,28). While seated in *darbar*, Harṣa, was wearing a pair

of garments, *viz.* an *adharavāsa* or *dhotī*, which was extremely diaphanous, like the slough of a serpent (*vāsukinirmokenaiva*) and of pure white colour, as if washed with milk (*vimalapayodhaute*). This lower garment was clinging to his hips in the *magnāṁśuka* fashion. The other cloth was a fine upper garment with sequins, or embroidered with a design of gold thread.[7]

Dukūlottarīya (*Daśa.*, 5th *ucch*) and *dukūla* garments both white and coloured were common.[8] In the *HC* (1.85) Sudṛṣṭi, the *pustakavācaka*, is said to be wearing a pair of *dukūla* silk garments of pale colour which were manufactured in the Puṇḍra country (North Bengal). The *Kādambarī*[9] refers to a soft textured *dukūla* dyed in safflower-red colour, with flower pattern. Very fine, white *dukūla* light as a serpent's slough was *kalpalatādukūla*.[10] *Mahāpatrorṇa*[11] was definitely a very expensive variety of the *patrorṇa* type of silk.

The *netra* silk is not mentioned in the dramatic literature of the early centuries of the Christian era. Aśvaghoṣa does not refer it, Kālidāsa refers it only once. Thus in the early Gupta period it was known, but was not common. The Mandasor Inscription (437-38 A.D.) of the time of Kumāragupta, mentions that a section of silk weavers migrated from Lāṭadeśa to Mandasor. Some of the migrants took to other professions but the remainder organised themselves in a seperate guild. It shows the importance of silk garments (*paṭṭamayavastra*) in the Gupta period, their smoothness (*sparśavata*) and the balance of colours of their texture (*varṇāntaravibhāgacitreṇa*). It refers to the beautiful *netra* silk (*netrasubhagena*) too. Kālidāsa refers to *netra* only once; Bāṇa mentions it five times. In the *HC* (p.31) Mālatī wears a dress of fine white *netra* silk (*dhautadhavalanetranirmiṭena*). When in *darbar*, Harṣa himself wore an *adhovastra* fastened by a *netrasūtra* (*ibid.*, p 72) or *netra* silk cord. This is explained by Śaṅkara, the commentator, as a silken waist-band tied like a girdle cloth. At other place, he explains it as a special kind of cloth (*paṭaviśeṣaḥ*, *ibid.*, p. 206) and in yet at another place he takes it as synonymous with the *priṅga* fabric (*ibid.*, p.143). *Netra* and *Priṅga* were both silk textiles. However, *netra* is taken to be generally white; *priṅga* was a coloured cloth. Both were, however, woven with floral designs.[12] *Netra* as the name of a textile continued to be used in Bengal up to the 14th century.

The *Matsya Purāṇa* (70,50) mentions *hemanetrapaṭa* or golden *netra* cloth. This might refer to brocade or gold embroidery or interwoven design. Gold embroidery and brocade was naturally popular in such an oppulent age. The *Daśa.* (7, 14) refers to a gold

(brocade ?) *kañcuka* or *kurtā* tied with a white girdle—*sitasārasan-onnaddamahārajanakañcuka*. In another place (*ibid.*, 8th *Ucchvāsa*) a saffron shawl with gold embroidery or interweave *kāñcanakuṁkumakaṁbala* is referred to. In the *Kuṭṭinīmatam*[13] a feudal lord son's is described as wearing a brocade garment tinged or coloured with saffron. The *BKSS* (18,179) also refers to the *pādukā* or sandals.

The southern regions carried on good business in cotton (*karpāsa*) cloth (*BKSS*, 18,388-89). Clothes made of skins of animals were also known. The *kṛṣṇājina* was considered sacrosanct and was worn on religious occasions (*Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, 1.1.4.1). *Eṇājina* (*Śiśu.*, 1,6) was also an antelope skin which was worn. The beautiful skin of the camaru deer was used to make carpets etc.—*cārucamarucarmaṇā kuthena* (*ibid.*, 1.8). It is described as *nisargacitrojjvalasūkṣmapakṣmaṇā*, i.e. naturally variegated or spotted, bright, white fine hair. The *indragajājinakañcukaḥ* (*ibid.*, 6,51) is either white elephant skin *kañcuka* or a multi-coloured elephant skin coat of armour. The latter meaning seems more probable.

As for garments of bark, the *valkala* was still in use. The *kausumbhanailaśākalikāmbara* is referred to in the *BKSS* (18,454). *Śakala* means 'piece', and also 'bark'. So, it could mean either garments made of pieces of saffron and blue cloth or saffron and blue garments of bark.

The fashion of the day demanded that clothes be given a fine finishing touch. Cloth was treated with colour, incense and perfumes.[14] The *Bṛhatkalpasūtrabhāṣya* (1,644) speaks of change of clothes on four occasions: (1) the clothes which were changed daily (*nityānivasana*), (2) clothes washed after taking one's bath, (3) clothes worn on festive occasions (*kṣaṇotsavikam*), i.e. on fairs and festivities, and (4) clothes worn while calling upon kings, nobles etc. (*rājadvārikam*). Thus, a thick (*sthūlam*) and greasy (*tailamalimasam*) *śāṭakam* (*BKSS*, 18,123) or robe was worn during the pre-bath oil massage of the body. A *snānaśāṭaka* (*ibid.*, 18,299) was worn during the bath. After bath there is a reference to a *dhāturaktam* (shade of redlead) *prakṣālam* (i.e. washed) *paṭaśāṭakam* or silk robe (*ibid.*, 18,194). On festivals and religious ceremonies, bright white clothes have been enjoined.[15]

Garments Worn by Women—Ardhoruka was an undergarment which was like shorts or underpants which covered the hips and loins and reached up to half the thigh.[16] The *BKSS* (20, 82) describes a woman wearing a blue *ardhoruka* which covered her wide hips—*nīlārdhorukasaṁvitaviśālajaghanasthalam*. The *Daśa.* (2nd *Ucchvāsa*) describes a princess wearing a *cīnāṁśukāntarīyam*, i.e. a

china silk undergarment. The *Amara.* (2.6.117) describes it as a lower garment of *aṁśuka—antariyopasaṁvyānaparidhānānyadho'ṁśuke.* This seem to be a lower garment covering the hips and thighs too, but like a *dhotī.* In a telling verse (7,14) of the *Kirāta.* the divine damsels are said to be wearing a *jaghanavarāṁśuka.* The breeze flutters the garment so as to expose their body. However, the rays of the gems of the girdle cover the thighs and hips as an *antarīya* garment might. The *caṇḍātaka* was another lower garment and was like a short petticoat or skirt. The *Amarakośa* (2.6,119) says—*ardhorukaṁ varastriṇāṁ syaccaṇḍātakamastriṇām.*[17] The *ardhoruka* were like shorts or bloomers (*jāṅghiā*) whereas the *caṇḍātaka* was like a short skirt. In the *HC* (p.32) Mālatī is wearing a thin, long *kañcuka.* Under that, on the lower part of her body was discernible a skirt coloured in the dye of *kusumbha* flowers which thus had a pinkish hue (*kusumbharāgapāṭalam.........caṇḍātakamantaḥsphuṭaṁ*). It was beautified with spots of variegated colours (*pulakabandhacitram*). Thus under the long *kañcuka,* Mālatī wore a *caṇḍātaka* of pinkish hue (the dawn pink colour, it seems) with variegated tie and dye pattern on it. Of the upper garments worn by women we have the *stanapaṭa* or *payodharapaṭa* i.e. breast cloth, *kañcuka, uttarīya* or wrap. By the various depictions in literature and art, it seems, that the *kañcuka* could be of various lengths—a long one, i.e. of ankle length, a *kutrā* type, i.e. half upto the thigh and slightly slit at the sides, a *colī* type. Of the first type, we have the one Malātī was wearing in the *HC* (pp 31.32). She wore an *āprapadīnetra kañcukena,* that is a *kañcuka* of washed white *netra* silk. The *Amara.* (2.6.111) defines *āprapadīna* as that which reaches the ankles—*āprapadīnaṁ tatprapnotyāprapadam.* Thus, Mālatī was wearing a long, full length *kañcuka* or tunic which reached up to her ankles. In the *Kādambarī,* the Mātaṅga tribal girl wears a blue *kañcuka* dress which reaches her ankles and covers her entire body *gulphāvalambinanīlam kañcukenācchannaśarīram.* This can be seen in Ajanta paintings, where such long *kañcukas,* both in blue and white colour, are depicted, for instance, as in Cave I on the figure of the female attendant standing behind the great Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara. The other type of the medium length was like a short *kutrā.* This is the type of *kañcuka* that the *kañcukinyaḥ,* the women of Śrīkaṇṭha *janapada* wore.[18] The third type is the *kañculikā* (*Karpūra.,* Act I). It says, that just as a long pearl necklace does not suit a (woman) with drooping breasts, just as collyruim stick is of no use to squint eyes, similarly a *kañculikā* does not befit a person with stout breasts—*tuṇḍilāyā iva kañculikā....nā bhāti.* Here, it occurs in

the sense of a tight fitting bodice: a *colī* type. The *Viddhaśālabhañjikā* (Act IV) describes the ladies' garment thus—first is worn a *kanakakañculikā* or a brocade bodice; over that is worn a *maṇikhacitodaraśithilastanakañcukasthagitastana* i.e. over the *kañculikā* (or the breast *colī*) is worn a jewel studded *kañcuka* or *kurtā*. This *kurtā* is well fiitting over the breasts, then falls loosely upto the (waist and) stomach. Over the *kañculīya* and *kañcuka* is worn an *uttarīyam* i.e. an *oḍhni* Exactly the same type of a bodice is still worn in Rajasthan and is called *kāñculī*. With this a short *kurtā* with full sleeves and reaching half the thighs is worn which is called *kurtī*. Beneath that is a *colī* type of a fitting bodice with half sleeves, called *kāñcalī*, is worn. The *dupaṭṭā* or *oḍhanī* was called *uttarīya*.

Sometimes the *uttarīya* was taken on top of the head and used to cover the head and partly also the face, like a *ghūṅghaṭ*. It was then called *avaguṇṭhana*. In fact, the *avaguṇṭhana*, which was not mentioned in the earlier plays, is mentioned by Kālidāsa, though only once in the *Abhijñānaśākuntalam* when Śakuntalā goes to the king's court. From the 6th-7th cent. A.D. we find regular references to the *śiro'vaguṇṭhanapaṭa*[19] or *mukhacchadapaṭa*.[20] This seems to be the influence of the Hūṇa invasions which must have caused insecurity in the society. In the *Kādambarī* even the Mātaṅga *kanyā* (who was a tribal and thus generally free in her apparel), when she came to king Śūdraka's court wore a red *aṁśuka* veil—*raktāṁśukaviracitāvaguṇṭhanam*. In fact, the veil over the face was gradually coming to be associated with respectable ladies. Thus, the respectable ladies of Śrīkaṇṭha *janapada* are described as *ramyaṁ mukhāvaraṇaṁ kulastrijanācāro jālikā* (*HC*, p.98). The face could be veiled basically in two ways: (1) an '*uttarīyakṛtāvaguṇṭhana*' (*Nāgā.*, Act III) i.e. the *uttarīya* or *dupaṭṭā* itself was taken over the head and drawn out a little over the face to veil it, like an *avaguṇṭhana* or *ghūṅghaṭ*. Even the *abhisārikā* who was going to her lover in a rendezvous did not step out without a *nīlapaṭaviracitāvaguṇṭhana*.[21] Thus, Mālatī (*HC*, p.32) wore a veil of blue *aṁśuka* which covered half her face—*nīlāṁśukajālikayeva nirudhardhavadanā*. In the *HC* (74-76), there is a vivid description of a palace dance. Unfortunatly, the dresses have not been detailed. In Ajanta, there is a similar scene (of the *Mahājanaka Jātaka*) of a palace dance performance. What is remarkable is the change in costume within a century or two after Kālidāsa or the Gwalior-Pawāyā sculpture. Instead of the *viralanepathya* showing the *sarvāṅgasauṣṭhava* Kālidāsa's heroines or the transparent *dhotī* of the dancer of the Gwal-

ior-Pawāyā piece, we have the fully covered dancers at Ajanta. In this particular scene (Yazdani, *Ajanta*, Part IV, Pl. XIII) the main dancer is wearing a deep (maroonish) brown, full sleeved short blouse with small white circles. Over that she wears a yellow apron like garment that covers the breasts completely, as also the navel, and hangs in front. The mid-riff cannot be seen from the front. It has, however, deep slits from the sides and the waist can be seen from sides. The slits were perhaps for freedom of movement. The lower garment is a multi-coloured band *dhoti*, the colours of which blend beautifully with the upper garments. The *dhoti* has prominent maroon and yellow as also green horizontal bands. The maroon bands are outlined with white lines and the maroon and green bands have lozenge like patterns in white. The pattern of the *dhoti* gives the distinct impression of a *paṭolā* design. Is this then the *vicitrapaṭolaka*[22] (variegated *paṭolā* silk) of ancient times ? Even now the *paṭolā sāris* of Gujarat are very popular. The main drummer is wearing a tight breast band of green and pale-yellow vertical stripes tied at the back. The skirt or *ghāghrā* below has a decorative band of lozenge and circle motif with the same colour scheme. Around the waist is tied a sash or waist band with similar stripes (now horizontal). Besides other ornaments, they all definitely wear a single pearl-string (*ekāvalī*). Now, it is interesting that the Jaina texts give the same type of a picture for the costumes of dancers. The *Bṛhatkalpasūtrabhāṣya* (IV,4127) says that the dancer, having dressed properly did not feel ashamed when lifting her legs. Even the acrobatic danseuse (*laṅkhikā*), while performing hundreds of tricks in the arena did not feel embarassed as she was properly clad. The *Rāyapaseṇiya* (pp. 123-25, ed. Pandit Bechardas) says that the dancers on stage wore an *uttarīya* dangling on both sides, tight waist band (*parikara*) made of variegated cloth, multi-coloured garments and tunics. For the tunic it says—*saphenakavattaraiya-saṅgayapalambavatthanta*, i.e. the hanging end of the garment turned round like frothywaves and (was) cut after theatrical requirements. In the Commentary *saṅgataḥ* is explained as *nāṭyavidhau upapannaḥ*. This may be the apron like garment which the Ajanta dancer wears. The tight breast bands (*pinaddha-gevajjakañcukinām*) and *ekāvalī* pearl strings are also mentioned.

Garments for Man—After the coming of the Śakas and Kuṣāṇas, foreign influence could be seen in the dresses of men too. There were basically two types of men's costumes : (a) the indigenous *dhoti* type, and (b) the trousers and tunic type which show foriegn influence.[23] The coins of the Gupta kings show both these types.

They can be divided broadly into three styles : (1) single waist cloth and cap,[24] (2) tight fitting tunic with pointed ends and waist cloth,[25] and (3) tunic with pointed ends, full sleeved or half sleeved, tight fitting and creased trousers of the *chūridār* variety, head covered with close-fitting cap.[26] These types of trousers are probably the *svasthāna* mentioned by Bāṇa in his *HC* (p. 206). The word itself hints at its meaning that it was held tightly at its place. A female dancer wearing such a *chūridār* type of trouser has been depicted in the sculpture at Deogarh temple. In the paintings, however, a totally indigenous dress is depicted. The kings usually wear a waist cloth, with or without an *uttarīya*.

Of the coats, mention must be made of the *kañcuka* and *vārapāṇa*. Bāṇa describes some of the kings who wore *kañcuka* coats of lapis lazuli colour (*rāyāvartamecakakañcuka*) which looked beautiful against their fair complexion. In the same text (p.21) the dress of a soldier is described as *kṛṣṇaśabalakāṣāyakañcuka*, i.e. a brownish-red and black spotted *kañcuka*. In the Commentary, Śaṅkara identifies *kañcuka* with *vārabāṇa*. Thus *vārabāṇa* was also a *kañcuka* type coat. It was basically a kind of military coat as the typology of the word indicates. Kings wore gorgeous *vārabāṇas*. In the *Mudrārākṣasa* (Act III) we have a very significant description of the splendid *vārabāṇa* Vairocaka wore during his coronation ceremony. It says that Vairocaka was made to go through the coronation ceremony and that his (Vairocaka's) body was covered with a *vārabāṇa*, which was made of a variegated/embroidered, silky (or some costly) textile which was studded with shining pearls and gems textured cross-wise.[27] Now, Bāṇa informs us that *vārabāṇa* coats were made of a special fabric called *stavaraka*, a costly textile mentioned twice in the *HC*.[28] In sculptures of the Gupta and post-Gupta periods, images of Sūrya are represented as wearing coats of a richly ornamented fabric which perhaps depicts a sample of the *stavaraka* material. In these coats we find pearls and embroidery as a special feature. The *HC* (p.206) also mentions that the *stavaraka* coats were embroidered with chess of pearls and sequins (*tārāmuktāstavaraka*).

The costumes of men were completed by the head-dress. This could either be the *uttarīya* itself wound round the head—*uttarīyakṛtaśiroveṣṭan* (*ibid.*, p.21). Often there was a seperate cloth for the head dress, which could be *aṁśuka* (*aṁśukoṣṇīṣapaṭṭikā*, *ibid.*, p.19) or bleached white *dukūla* (*dhautadukūlapaṭṭikāpariveṣṭitamauli*, p.24) etc. The Ajanta paintings show elaborate diadems on the heads of the kings. Around the 10th century, the famous writer and drama-

tist Rājaśekhara (880-92 A D.), who graced the court of the Gujrara-Pratihāras of Kanauj, in his *Kāvyamīmāṁsā*, *Viddhaśālabhañjikā*, and *Karpūramañjari* gives glimpses of female costumes. Thus, according to him, the ladies of Bengal (Gauḍa) wore a chain necklace (*sūtrahāra*) over breasts which were besmeared with sandal paste, their *cādara* touched the partings of their hair and their forearms were exposed (*Kāvya*., p.8). The women of Kanauj (Mahodaya) wore earrings (*tāṭaṅka*) which moved, and also hanging necklaces. Their upper garment, falling from the thighs to the ankles encircled the body (*parimaṇḍalitottarīyam*, *ibid*., p 8). As regards the male and female costumes of Avanti (West Mālava), Rājaśekhara remarks that men affected the costume (*nepathya*) of the Pāñcāla region, whereas the women delighted in the Deccan costume (*ibid*., p.9). He has, however, not described the costumes of the Pāñcāla or the Deccan region. About the women of Kerela, he observes that they have curled locks, some falling on their temples. Their *sārīs* were held tight with zones (*kakṣāniveśanibiḍikṛtanirviśeṣa*). The women of Lampāka (Laghman, Afghanistan) wore their hair free and their dresses were made of blankets or thick woolen cloth (*rallakamullāsayantaḥ*, *ibid*., p.99). In the *Viddhaśālabhañjikā*, the dress of the Maharashtri ladies is given. In the same text (1.34), the king draws the difference between the costumes of married and unmarried girls. The unmarried girls are *colakavatī*. V.S. Agrawala in his *Deeds of Harṣa* (p.197) takes it as a "kind of tunic of which the lower portion hangs loosely." Apte's *Dictionary* (p. 440) also takes it to mean not just a bodice but also a "garment reaching to the feet". The married women wore their *nīvi* or lower garment in a special way. The married ladies tied their lower garment in a particular way which was still current in Maharashtra in the days the Commentary was written. This probably consisted of the *nīvi* wound round the waist, gathered in a knot in the front, passed between the legs and tucked behind. Perhaps the unmarried girls wore long tunics (upto the feet) or *ghāghrās* and the married ones wore the *lāṅgha* type of a *sārī*. The *Karpūra*. (1,13) mentions the *kūrpāsaka* or blouse. At another place the *ṭasara* (Act I p.23) textile is mentioned. This is a kind of thick silk

Various types of textiles were used not just for making garments, but for a variety of purposes such as counterpanes, bed-sheets, curtains, etc. The *Raghu*. (17.22) refers to *uttarachadma* (table cloth) and *pracchada* (*ibid*., 19.22) or bed-sheet. The *dhavalottaracchada* (*Daśa*., 2nd *Ucchvāsa*) may mean an exceedingly white table cloth or bed-sheet. Beautifully patterned counterpanes (*citrā*-

starana) were popular. Sometimes they were made of China silk textile—*citracīnāṁśukastriṇāmbaram* (*BKSS*, 18,483). The canopy over the bed could be beautifully patterned or embroidered with leaves—*citravitānapatrajāti* (*Daśa.*, 2nd *Ucchvāsa*). The pillow covers were of equally beautiful patterned silk—*citrapaṭṭopadhāna*[29] (*BKSS*, 16,19)

There are frequent references to pillows, matresses or soft, light quilt covers being filled with the downy feathers of swans.[30] The *tiraskaraṇī* or curtain was also worked out in rich fabrics and floral designs.[31]

Cosmetics and Coiffure—The Ajanta paintings illustrate beautifully much of what is described by poets and dramatists of the late Gupta and post-Gupta periods The *BKSS* (19,67-73) refers to perfumes and incenses which matched the fragrance of flowers—*sumanogandhasamyādidhūpoyam*, *ibid.*, 19,67-73). At another place are described expert perfumers (*gandhaśāstra viśārada*) who manufactured incense, paints, oils and perfumes etc. (*ibid.*, 10.96). Masseurs were much in demand. Youthful boys, expert in the art of massaging, were employed for massaging men—*mardanaśāstrajñatarunah paricārakaḥ* (*ibid.*, 16,65). The body was first massaged with perfumed oil—*gandhatailena mṛdnāti* (*l.c.*). At another place, too, the same text (10.128) refers to *sugandhi snehadhāriṇaḥ*, i e. anointing the body with perfumed oil before the bath. This is still a practice common in India. The ordinary scented oil was obtained from seasame seeds which was previously scented with flowers. The oil took the fragrance of the flower with which the seasame was perfumed. The fragrance of *jāti* (jasmine) flowers was quite popular. Later the body was cleansed with fragrant unguents, a bath was taken and then new clothes worn—*paścāduvartnaṁ snānamahatambaradhāraṇam* (*ibid.*, 16,66).[32]

Thus *abhyaṅgocchādanasnāna* (*ibid* , 18,194) meant oil massage, besmearing with unguents and bath. In the same text, there is an interesting description of the hero reaching a village and being given a massage and bath by a cowherd maiden. Here the massage is not done with the city manufactured, sophisticated perfumed oils erotic unguents and paints prepared by experts. It is a wholesome though homely massage, in humble surroundings and gives a good picture of the toilet of the rural folk. The hero was made to squat on a cowdung seat (*gomayapīṭhastham*, *ibid.*, 20,248). Then the clear hearted, sisterly (*svaseva svacchamānasa*, *l.c.*). cowherd maiden massaged him for a long time from head to toe (*āśiraḥpādamāśrāntasamvāhitavaticiram*, *l.c.*). Thereafter, she brought water in a bronze

vessel (*salilaiḥ kāṁsyapātrasthaiḥ, ibid.*, 20,250) and washed his feet (*l.c.*). She first massaged his head and limbs with butter (*navanitam, l.c.*). Thereafter she chafed his body by a paste made by grinding grains of cereals—*ucchādya kaṇakalkena* (*ibid.*, 20,251). Finally he was anointed with a homely unguent made of (the powder of) *lodhra* (flowers), *karbura* (*dhatūrā*) and *musta* (a kind of grass)—*lodhrakarburamustābhirghṛṣṭo'ham* (*ibid.*, 20,251) and then given a bath—*snāpitaḥ* (*l.c.*) In sheer contrast to this simple, rural massage and bath we have the description of the elaborate, glamorous bath and toilet of king Śūdraka. Prior to the bath, the king goes to the *vyāyāmabhūmi* or gymnasium hall for physical exercises (*Śūdrakasnānam, Kādambarī*). Thereafter he goes to the *snānabhūmi.* This was a particular place for bath in the king's residential quarters. A white canopy—*vitatasitavitānam*—was streched out. Bards were seated around it. In the midst was a gold water tub filled with perfumed water—*gandhodakapūrṇa kanakamayajaladroṇi.* Besides it was a crystal stool (*sphṭikasnānapīṭham*) for sitting upon during the bath. Apart from this, the bath-place had water vessels(*snāna kalaśaiḥ*) from which the water would be poured out for the bath. These were filled with perfumed water (*surabhigandhasalilapūrṇaiḥ*) and the mouths of the *kalaśas* were covered with blue coloured cloth to keep away the Sun's heat (*ātapabhayānnīlakarpaṭāvaguṇṭhitamukhairiva*). The king entered the bath tub and the *vāravilāsinīs*—courtezans—who were present there prepared to give him a bath. Their breast-cloths were tightened (*aṁśukanibiḍanibaddhastanaparikarāḥ*), they forced their bangles up their arms (*duramutsāritavalayabāhulatyā*), and tucked their ear ornaments and tresses (*samutkṣiptakarṇābharaṇāḥ karṇotsaṁgotsāritālakāḥ*). Bearing water vessels (*gṛhītajalakalaśāḥ*), they washed the hair of the king with fragrant *āmalaka* (*sugandhāmalakakalpitaśiraso*). Having got out from the bath tub, the king sat on the crystal-slab bath stool. Thereafter, various courtezans holding different types of water vessels bathed the king. Some held vessels studded with emeralds (*markatamaṇikalaśa*), some poured out water from silver vessels (*rājatakalaśahastā,*), some poured out holy water from vessels made of crystal (*sphaṭikaiḥ kalaśaistīrthajalena*), some others poured out water mixed with sandal paste, while yet others poured out from gold vessels saffron mixed water (*kanakakalaśahastāḥ kuṁkumajalena*) to remove the chill of the bath water (*jāḍyamapanetum*). The final finishing touch to the bath was given by the bards singing *stuti* songs accompanied by various musical instruments and the conch was blown signifying the completion of the bath. The king having dressed in fine,

diaphanous bleached white garments and an extremely white silk head-dress, paid oblations to the manes, and then went to the *deva-gṛha* for worship. Finally, he went to the *vilepanabhūmi* (*Śūdrakani-tyakṛtyavarṇanam*) i.e. the make-up room or the dressing room, where, after the bath, he was adorned with perfumes, unguents, cosmetics etc. The king was perfumed with sandal paste mixed with musk, camphor and saffron—*mṛgamadakarpūrakuṁkumavāsasura-bhinācandanenānuliptasarvāṅgo*. This mixture suggests that it might possibly be the *yakṣakardama* paste. This was a perfumed paste fit for kings. Thus, in the *BKSS* (19,140) Prince Manohara declares *yakṣakardama* to be 'the king of fragrance' (*gandharājaḥ*) (for mortals). The king then changed his clothes, wore ornaments and adorned his hair with a head-crest of mālatī flowers—*mālatīkusu-maśekharaḥ*. A similar, though brief, description is given of Prince Candrāpīḍa's bath (*Candrāpīḍasya viśrāmādivarṇanam, ibid.*) and toilet. After hunting, he took off the *vārabāṇa* that he was wearing. He was fanned for some time and then went to the bathing place (*snānabhūmimagāt*). There he sat on a gold footstool (*kāñcanapīṭ-ham*) and water was poured out from pots studded with gems and made of gold and silver (*maṇirajatakanakakalaśa*). After worship he went to the cosmetics room or the dressing room. Here, it is termed *aṅgarāgabhūmi* (instead of *vilepanabhūmi*), but the meaning is the same. There he was adorned with various ornaments, garlands, body unguents and clothes (*vividhānyābharaṇāni mālyānyāṅ-garāgān vāsāṁsi*) That these descriptions were not merely the fanciful imagination of poets is obvious from an Ajanta painting where the king is given a bath in slmilar manner.[33]

The perfume which king Śūdraka used consisted of sandal paste mixed with musk, camphor and saffron. In the *Amarakośa* (2,6, 133) the same or similar perfume made of camphor, agallachum, musk and *kakkola* is called *yakṣakardama*. This was held to be the king of perfumes and was very popular. The best variety of fine old sandalwood had three names—*tailaparṇika*,[34] *gaśīrṣa-can-dana*[35] and *haricandana*.[36] In the *HC* (p.110) Bhairavācārya anoints himself with red sandalwood (*raktacandana*). In fact, the *Amarakośa* details several types of unguents, pastes scented oils and perfumes. Saffron, aloewood, musk, agallochum, camphor and sandalwood were the most popular aromatic substances. Kashmir was the prominent source for saffron or *kuṁkuma*. Another source was Bactria. Besides *kuṁkuma*, the *Amarakośa* (2,6, 123-24) lists its ten other names, viz. 1. *kāśmīrajanma*, 2. *agniśikhā*, 3. *vara*, 4. *vāhlīka*, 5. *pitana*, 6. *rakta*, 7. *saṁkoca* 8. *piśuna*, 9. *dhīra*, and 10. *lohitacandana*. The

various types of lac-dyes were—*lākṣā, rākṣā, jātu, klība, yaya, alaktakā* and *drumamaya* (*ibid.*, 2,6,125). There were three denominations for cloves—*lavaṅga, devakusuma* and *śirīṣasaṁjña* (*l.c.*). Zeodary was known by three names viz. *jāyaka, kāliyaka* and *kālānusārī* (*ibid.*, 2,6,125-126). *Agaru* or agallochum was used for a variety of purposes—it served to dry and perfume the hair, it was also used for the preparation of various types of perfumes and unguents. It was known by six names viz. *vaṁśika, agaru, rajarha, loha,*[37] *kṛmija* and *joṅgaka*[38] (*l.c.*). Black aloewood was called *kālāgaru* (*ibid.*, 2,6, 127) and the aloewood which had the fragrance of jasmine flowers (*malligandhi*) was known as *māṅgalya* (*l.c.*). The resin of the tall and stately *śāla* tree (*shorea rabusta*) was used in the preparation of paste and incense and had six names, viz., *yakṣadhūpa, sarjaraso, rāla, sarvarasa, bahurūpa* and *vṛkadhūpa* (*ibid.*, 2,6, 127). *Kṛtrimadhūpa* (*ibid.*, 2,6, 128) was the incense made from a mixture of various fragrant substances. Olibanum had four names—*turuṣka, piṇḍaka, silha* and *yavana*. The first and the last seem to suggest that it was imported from outside. The resin and turpentine obtained from the *devadāru* was used chiefly for the preparation of incense, joss-sticks etc. It had five names, namely, *pāyasa, śrīvasa, vṛkadhūpa, śrīvatsa* and *saraladrava*. (*ibid.*, 2,6, 129). Musk was known as *mṛganābhi, mṛgamada*, and *kastūrī* (*l.c.*). The aromatic fruit of the clerodendron used in perfuming water, making perfumes, etc. had three names, viz., *kolaka, kaṅkolaka* and *kośaphala* (*ibid.*, 2,6, 129-30). Camphor, used for the preparation of cosmetics and medicines, had five names—*karpūra, ghanasāra, sitābhra* and *himavālukā* (*l.c.*). Sandalwood, however, was the most popular and was most prolifically used. It had four name—*gandhasāra, malayaja* (product of the Malaya mountains of South India), *bhadraśrī* and *candana* (*ibid.*, 2,6, 131). *Tailaparṇi, gośīrṣa* and *haricandana* (*l.c.*) were three names for the best variety of fine old sandalwood. Red sandalwood was known by five names, viz. *tilaparṇi, patrāṅga, rañjana, raktacandana* and *kucandana* (*ibid.*, 2,6, 132). Nutmeg, used for perfuming water, for betel leaves etc. was known by two names, viz., *jātikośa* and *jātiphala* (*l.c.*). *Gātrānulepa* was a fragrant unguent smeared on the body (*ibid.*, 2,6, 133); *varti* was any cosmetic prepared from various fragrant substances in the form of sticks or pills (*l.c.*); *varṇaka* was a fragrant ointment and *vilepana* was any kind of fragrant oil for anointing the body (*l.c.*). Various powders (*cūrṇa, vāsayoga*) obtained from many fragrant substances were used for perfuming the body—*bhāvita, vāsita* (*ibid.*, 2,6, 134). Perfuming oneself and one's body and adorning oneself with flower

garlands was known as *adhivasana* (*l.c.*). In Cave XVII of Ajanta, in a painting from a pilaster (Griffiths, *op.cit*., Vol.I, Pl.55), a lady looking into the mirror completes her toilet. Her maid carries a tray with cosmetic bottles—perfumes, unguents and pastes. Similar type of perfume bottles and unguents caskets can also be seen in a wall painting in Cave XVI (*ibid*., Plate 48 B) which depicts Yaśodharā sleeping and Gautama taking a last look at her while he departs. In this painting, in a niche in the wall also, cosmetic bottles are seen placed.

Much care was taken of long, luxuriant tresses which were washed with diverse unguents and hair washes, and then dried and perfumed with incense—*keśadhūpādivāsitaiḥ* (*BKSS*, 9,29). The hair was then styled in various ways. *Cikura, kuntala, kaca, keśa, śiroruha*, were various names for hair (*Amarakośa*, 2,6, 95). A mop of curled hair was *kaiśika* and *kaiśīya* (*ibid*., 2,6,96). The two types of curly hair were *alaka* or curled and *cūrṇa kuntala* or ringlets (*l.c.*). A lock of hair falling on the forehead was *bhramaraka* (*l.c.*); *kākapakṣa* were the side locks of hair on the temples of boys and young men and *śikhaṇḍaka* was a lock of hair left on the crown of the head at tonsure or side locks (*l.c.*). The chignon, in which women tied up their hair, was known as *kabarī* (*Viddha*., 2,7; *ibid*., 2,6, 97) and the *dhammila* (*l.c.*) was the braided and ornamented hair of a woman tied over the head and intermixed with flowers, pearls etc. *Śikhā, cūḍā, keśapāśa* (*l.c.*) were top knots, and the matted hair style of hermits and recluses was called *jaṭā* or *saṭā* (*l.c.*). Braided hair or the hair plaited in chains were called *veṇi* and *praveṇi* (*ibid*., 2,6, 97). Sleek, abdundant and tangle-free hair were called *śirṣaṇya* and *śiraṣya* (*l.c.*). The *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa* (3,37) enumerates the following types of hair styles—*kuntala, dakṣiṇāvarta* (curled to the right), *taraṅgaḥ* (possibly like a longish perm), *siṁhakesara* (hair like the mane of a lion falling on the neck), *vardhara* (parted) and *jūṭa ṭasara* (matted). The last mentioned is for the sages, for which the text says (3, 42) that sages should be drawn adorned with long tresses of hair clustered on top of their head—*jaṭājūṭaśobhita*. The *Karpūra*. (Act III) describes curly locks falling on the forehead in the manner of a fringe—*kuṭilālakānām mālālāṭaphalakāgrasaṅginracita*. Sometimes hair were braided and then coiled into a bun—*maṇḍalitaveṇi* (*BKSS*, 14,112). A hair-style, very popular with women and often depicted in Ajanta paintings, was a low chignon, loosely but stylishly tied at the nape of the neck —*kandharāmulavisrastaślathabandhaśiroruha* (*ibid*., 7,7).

More than often this chignon had a chaplet of some fragrant

flower encircling it. *Śirṣopanīyanīlotpaladāma* (*Priyadarśikā*, Act II) was a garland of blue lotuses tied in the hair. In fact, garlands of blue lotuses encircling the chignon seems to be very popular at Ajanta.[39] Sometimes flowers of different varieties (*anekajāti*) and different colours (*anekavarṇa*) were used for making garlands (*NC*, 4, p. 40). Five coloured garlands (*pañcavarṇamālikā*) made from fragrant flowers like *padma* (pink lotus), *utpala* (blue lotus) etc. were greatly appreciated—*yathā pañacavarṇasugandhamālā padmotpala* (*ibid.*, 3, p.280). In Ajanta, too (Yazdani, *Ajanta*, Part IV, Pl. xxxviii —A Procession) one can see a chaplet wreathed out of pink and blue lotus flowers wound round a hair bun. A chaplet of wreathed flowers could also be worn around on the forehead. It was then known as *lalāmakam* (*Amarakośa*, 2,6, 135). Subandhu describes the eastern ladies who wore the *lalāma* around the forehead [40] In Cave XVII of Ajanta (Griffiths, *op.cit.*, Vol.I, Pl. 55), the lady looking into the mirror wears a beautiful chaplet of red flowers round her forehead. Wreathed chaplets worn in the middle of the hair (i.e. head) were known as *garbhaka* (*l.c.*). Those wound round top-knots were *āpīḍa* and *śekhara* (*ibid.*, 2,6,136). In the *Kādambarī*, Śūdraka wore a chaplet of malatī flowers—*mālatīkusumaśekhara*. Tārāpīḍa wore a chaplet of red flowers—*raktaśekhara* (*Kādambarī, Tārāpīḍavilāsavarṇanam*). Adorning oneself with the *mālatīdāma* (*Viddha.*, 3,5) continued to be quite popular. *Prālamba* was the straight and long (*ṛjulambī*) garland around the neck—*kaṇṭhāt* (*Amarakośa*, 2,6,136). *Vaikakṣika* (*l.c.*) was worn diagonally across the chest like a *janeu* or the sacred thread (*ibid.*).

The Ajanta paintings, depict the various hair-styles of the time adorned with flowers. Sometimes, it had a permed effect in front with luxurious ringlets. Or a chignon is tied at the back with a coronal of flowers around it and a few strands of longish, permed type hair carelessly falling on the back or shoulders below the chignon Sometimes large lotus blooms were arranged in the masses of hair or a flower simply stuck to a bun. Knots of hair could be looped at the side and adorned with flowers. The hair-bun could be confined by hair-nets or jewelled strings attached to elaborate ornament of beaten work in gold and silver. Such ornamental hair-bands are often depicted. Tribal women wore rolls and bands with peacock feathertips. The *NC* (2, p.467) mentions flowers worn on the head—*keśapuṣpādi alaṁkārāḥ*. Garlands made from flowers or seeds of *guñja*, *rudrākṣa*, cotton and plant leaves (*NC*, 2, p.396) like that of *tagara* (*ibid.*), *bhiṇḍa* and from peacock feathers (*moraṁgamayī*, *ibid.*) are referred to in the text.

While in court, king Harṣa wore a ruby crest-jewel—*aruṇacuḍāmaṇi* (*HC*, p. 74). His *śikhaṇḍa* or tuft of hair was adorned by a crest ornament inset with pearls and emeralds—*śikhaṇḍābharaṇabhuvā muktāphalālokenamarkatamaṇikiraṇakalāpena* (*l.c.*). Kādambarī also wears a ruby crest-jewel.[41] So does the heroine of the *Viddhaśālabhañjikā*. The *vālapāśa* or hair band is referred to in the *Harṣacarita* (p 237, 7th *Ucchvāsa*).

Of ear ornaments, we have both the varieties, the danglers (*avataṁsa*) and those which are clasped on (*avasakta*). More than one ornament could be worn in the same ear. Kādambarī is said to be wearing three ear ornaments viz., *tālipatra*, *kuṇḍala* and *karṇotpala*. Perhaps two were worn in one ear and one in the other ear. In Cave I in Ajanta (Griffiths, *op.cit.*, I, p.9, fig.9) a princess is wearing a small earring in the upper ear and *karṇotpala* in the lower lobe. In Cave VI of Ajanta (*ibid.*, I, p.10, fig.12) a fashionable woman wears a large earring in the middle of the ear and a triangular sort of an ornament in the hole of the upper ear. Ear ornaments in the upper ear are seen in sculptures too.[42] Prrticularly popular with the ladies seems to be a round ear ornament in the shape of a flower with a prominent middle portion. This is possibly the ear-top named *karṇikā* which has been referred to in the *NŚ* as an ear -top of the ladies. The word *karṇikā* means the middle portion of a flower, which this ear top depicts. From the *Daśakumāracarita* (2nd *Ucchvāsa*, p. 97), we know that it was worn in the upper portion of the ear. It refers to the *karṇikā* as worn by a lady and describes it as a bejewelled (possibly studded with rubies, in this case) upper ear ornament—*uparīparāvṛttaśravaṇapāśaratnakarṇikākiraṇamañjarīpiñjarita*. A typical feature was that different sorts of ear-ornaments could be worn in each ear. Thus, Bhaṇḍi is described by Bāṇa as wearing different sorts of ornaments in either ear. Of course, this is not denying that a pair of ear-ornaments could also be worn. Sometimes an ear-ornament could be worn in only one ear. For instance, the Mātaṅga *kanyā* who arrives at the court of Śūdraka wears a *dantapatra* in only one ear. Flower ear-ornaments were also popular, specially with ladies.

Of *kuṇḍalas* or earrings there are several varieties, viz. plain *kuṇḍalas*, *ratnakuṇḍalas* or gem-studded *kuṇḍalas*, *cakrakuṇḍala* and *makarakuṇḍalas* In the first type, we have plain gold earrings—*hema kuṇḍalas* (*BKSS*, 10,102). *Maṇikuṇḍalas* or *ratnakuṇḍalas* seem to be quite popular.[43] They were studded with a variety of stones. *Kuṇḍalaprotapadmarāga* (*Śiśu.*, 2,19) were ruby studded *kuṇḍalas*. The same text (*ibid.*, 3,5) describes gold *kuṇḍalas* studded with emeralds

—*kāñcanakuṇḍalalāgrapratyuptagārutmatratna.* Kādambarī (*Kādambarīvarṇanam*) is described as wearing a dangling emerald-ruby earring of a leaf foliage pattern—*karṇapāśa dolāyamānapatramarkatamāṇikyakuṇḍalam.* While in court, Harṣa (*HC*, p.74) is described as wearing in his ears *maṇikuṇḍalas* in the shape of tiny harp—*kuṇḍalamaṇikuṭilakoṭibālavīṇā.*[44] In the *HC* (p.103) Bhairāvācārya is said to be wearing *sphaṭikakuṇḍala* i.e. crystal earrings.[45] Another popular design was the alligator (*makara*) design. This could be seen not only in earrings but in bangles too. Thus, Bāṇa describes the ruby-studded *makara kuṇḍalas* swinging in the ear—*preṅkhatakuṇḍalamāṇikyapatramakara.*[46] At another place, he describes the *kuṇḍalas* fashioned in the shape of alligators with gem-studded scroll work —*maṇikuṇḍalamakarapatrabhaṅga.*[47] Yet another variety of *kuṇḍalas* was the *cakrakuṇḍala* described in literature and illustrated in paintings and sculptures. The *Karpūra.* (Act II, p.57) refers to a pair of *cakrakuṇḍalas—tadvadanamanmatharatho dvābhyāmiva cakrābhyāṁ caṁkramitaḥ.* Subandhu gives an *upamā* referring to gold *cakrakuṇḍalas—cakrākāraḥ kanakakuṇḍalamiva.*[48]

The Ajanta paintings also depict *cakrakuṇḍalas.*[49] The *Śiśu.* (6.27) describes many gem-studded *kuṇḍalas—vividhopalakuṇḍaladyuti.* Rājaśekhara, too, in his dramas describes the multi-coloured jewelled ear ornaments. It is said to be a dangler fashionedlike the tail of a peacock—*uttamasaḥ kekipicchaiḥ* (*Viddha.*, 3,7) and then again *mayūrapiccbābharaṇaḥ* (*Karpūra.*, 4,13). Even now the *navaratna kuṇḍalas* and *hāras* are popular, though they may not be fashioned like a peacock's tail. Bāṇa, too, hints at the *navaratna kuṇḍalas.* He describes Keyūraka as wearing ear ornaments the (many studded) gems of which were casting a rainbow coloured reflections on his *uttarīya.*[50] Another word for *kuṇḍala* was *bālikā* (used in the *HC*) which is the same as the present-day *bālā* (Hindi—*kāna kā bālā* or *bālī*). The commentator explains *bālikā* as an *āvedhya* ornament—*bālikā karṇopavedholaṁkāra.* The *NŚ* includes *kuṇḍalas* in the *āvedhya* class of ornaments. Bāṇa refers to Mālatī wearing in her ears a pair of *bālikās* each with three elongated pearls looking like *bakula* fruit."[51] In Cave I of Ajanta, a person bearing a tray or vase of flowers, wears a similar *bālikā.* The earring has three strands of small pearls each ending in an elongated pearl.[52]

There were a variety of lotus-shaped ear ornaments[53] and they were variously named *karṇakuvalaya,*[54] *karṇotpala*[55] and *karṇapūra.* The *karṇapūra* was fashioned in several ways. The *Daśa.* (6th *Ucchvāsa*) describes a gold *karṇapūra* with the leaves fashioned probably in gold repoussé—*karṇapūrakanakapatram.* Bāṇa describes

gold *karṇapūras* with either gold leaves or *patrabhaṅgas* or scroll work—*cāmikarapatrāṁkurakarṇapūra* (*HC*, 7th *Ucchvāsa*, p. 207). Apart from gold *karṇapūra*, the other varieties were the *maṇikarṇapūra*[56] or the *ratnakarṇapūra*.[57] The *NŚ* (21.26) also describes the gem-studded variety of *karṇapūra*. The *karṇapūraraktotpala*[58] was a red lotus *karṇapūra* ear ornament, i.e. the petals of the *karṇapūra* lotus were studded with rubies. The *vilambinīlotpalakarṇapūra* (*Śiśu.*, 4,8) was a blue lotus *karṇapūra* dangler studded with sapphires. The *dantapatra*[59] was another popular ornament of this age. It was also known as *dantapatrikā* (*Śiśu.*, 1,60). The name *danta* itself suggests that the ornament was made of ivory. Besides, it is often referred to as *dhavaladantapatra*,[60] suggesting a white ivory ornament. It was an ear ornament which was clasped or clipped on to the ear as it is often referred to as *avasaktadantapatra*.[61] It seems that the *dantapatra* was worn as an upper ear ornement. In the *HC* (p.32) Bāṇa describes Mālatī as wearing four ear-ornaments. In both the ears she wore a pair of *bālikās* (*bālikāyugalena*) or *kuṇḍalas*. Besides this, she wore in her right ear a green *ketakī* bud and in the left ear she wore a *dantapatra* of bluish shade. Since the *bālikās* must have been worn in either the lower lobe of the ear or middle, one can logically conclude that the *dantapatra* and the *ketakī* bud must have been worn in the upper ear. The bluish shade hints that the ivory ornament was studded with sapphires. The *NŚ* (21.26) too, refers to the *dantapatra* as gem-studded. As for the shape of the ornament, the name suggests that it was shaped as an ivory leaf. But was this leaf rounded or narrow, plain edged or serrated? Now, in the *HC* Lakṣmī is said to be wearing a *dantapatra* which was shining white and fashioned like the crescent moon.[62] In the *KM* (62) the *dantapaṅkti* is said to have the shape of a saw (*kārapatraka*), which suggests a *dantura* or serrated edge. The word *danta* (in *dantapatra*) would then suggest not only ivory, but the serrated edge too. An ear-ring of exactly such a description, crescent-shaped and edged, has been reported from Peshawar Museum, Pakistan.[63] The following conclusions then seem to emerge as regards the *dantapatra* : (i) It was an ivory ornament; (ii) it was fashioned somewhat as a crescent-shaped leaf; (iii) it had a teeth-like or serrated edge; (iv) it could be either of plain ivory only or bejewelled, too; (v) it was clasped on to the ear; and (vi) it was perhaps worn as an upper ear ornament. Another leaf-like ear ornament was the *tālipatra*[64] or *talajapatra*.[65] As the name indicates, it must have been fashioned in the shape of palm leaf. Palm leaf-shaped ear ornaments in terracotta, coloured glass and crystal have been found amongst the surface finds at

Kauśāmbī. Bāṇa, however, describes a *tālipaṭṭa* ear ornament of gold.[66]

Amongst other interesting miscellaneous ear ornaments, mention must be made of *trikaṇṭaka,* referred to by Bāṇa. He describes it as an ear ornament fashioned by setting an emerald between two large pearls.[67] It seems to have been worn by both men and women. At the time of Harṣa's birth, the royal ladies danced with their ears being adorned by the *trikaṇṭaka* ear ornament.[68] Bhaṇḍi, at the time of his *debut* in court, wore the *trikaṇṭaka* ear ornament.[69] At another place, king Harṣa is described as wearing an ear ornament called *taraṅgaka* studded with extremely precious rubies.[70] About a century or more later Dāmodaragupta refers to ear-ornaments like *kanakanāḍi* (*KM*, 358), *śiśapatraka* and *dalaviṭaka* (*KM*, 65). *Kanakanāḍi* seems to be a gold dangler, shaped like a hollow stalk or tube.[71] *Dalaviṭaka,* as the name itself suggests, was an ear-ornament shaped like a roll of betel leaves. Such a conical type of ear-ornament was very popular during the Śaka-Kuṣāṇa period and is seen on several sculpture pieces. It became rarer in the Gupta and post-Gupta periods. A reference to it so late is indeed quite surprising. But some older designs do continue along with the new ones.

Of necklaces, we have the following types: those of gold, of gold and gem-studded and finally the various types of pearl necklaces. Ṛatnamālā (*Ratnāvalī*, Act I) was a string of emeralds. *Hārāḥ sendranīlaiḥ* (*Viddha* , 8,7) was a string of sapphires. The *candramaṇihara* (*Uttara*., 1,34) meant a pearl string. *Sphaṭikākṣamālā* (*Śiśu*., 1,9) was a string of crystal bead gems. The *Daśa*. (2nd *Ucchvāsa*) describes a necklace of burnished gold interwoven with rubies—*niṣṭapatatapanīyasūtraparyastapadmarāgarucakam*. The interesting fact here is that here *rucaka* denotes a necklace[72] and not a bracelet, as is the meaning given in the *NŚ* (21,18). Its meaning obviously changed in six-seven centuries. The big, central gem of the necklace was called *nāyaka* or *tarala*. Thus we have a single pearl-string with ruby as central gem.[73] The pearl string with sapphire as central gem has already been described.

Śeṣahāra[74] is a serpent-necklace. Mālatī wears a straight necklace of gold with a pendent of emeralds and rubies touching the breast —*kuncapūrṇakalaśayoruparıratnaprālambamālikāmaruṇaharitkiraṇakisalayāni* (*HC*, 1st *Ucchvāsa*, p.32). Kādambarī (*Kādambarīvarṇanam*) wears a necklace, ornamented by rubies mixed with lustrous pearls—*bhāsvānmuktāṁśubhinna padmarāgaprasādhanam*. In Cave XVII of Ajanta,[75] we have the painting of a *prasādhana*

(toilet) scene. A lady holding a mirror is assisted by two maids and is completing her toilet. Her neck ornaments are noteworthy. Close to her neck she wears a single string of ruby-pearl choker. There is another ruby string coming lower down with a beautiful pendent. In the centre is a big ovalish lusturous pearl. There are two lines of gems around it. Just immediately encircling the central pearl is a line of rubies. Ruby-pearl alternating are studded on the outside of this. Straight below this pendent dangle two pearls with rubies. The design is fit for a princess and it is quite possible that Kādambarī wore a similar ruby-pearl necklace.

There were various types of girdles too : of gold or pearl, gem-studded, with swan design or with bells. The *Kirāta.* describes the girdle with the design of swans—*kalahaṁsamekhalā* (*ibid.*, 4,1) or a row of swans (*ibid.*, 8,9). The bejewelled girdles are often referred to as *ratnamekhalā*[76] *maṇimekhalā*,[77] *kāñcīmaṇi*,[78] *raśanāmaṇinām*,[79] *padmarāgamaṇikāñcī*[80] or ruby studded girdle, and *ratnamālikānām mekhalānām*[81] or the girdle studded with strings of precious gems. The *Śiśu.* (3,9) refers to the *muktāmayam sāraśanā* or pearl girdle. The design of girdles[82] endowed with tiny tinklers was quite an old one and such girdles can been seen way back in the sculptures of Bharhut.[83] Sometimes it was a gold girdle with the design of bells —*kanakamekhalāghaṇṭikā*.[84] Patralekhā is described as wearing a very costly gold girdle.[85]

On the arms and hands were worn armlets, bangles and rings. In the *Kādambarī*, Śūdraka is described as wearing *indramaṇikeyūrayugma*, i.e. a pair of sapphire studded armlets. In another place, the *aṅgada* or armlet is described as having the alligator scroll-work design—*aṅgadapatrabhaṅgamakarakoṭi*.[86] In the *HC* (p.32) Mālatī is described as wearing a gold bracelet (*hāṭakakaṭaka*) with its ends having the form of an alligator's head inset with emeralds—*marakatamakaravedikāsanātha*. Lion-faced and alligator-faced bangles are still popular with Indian ladies. Bangles were known as *kaṭaka* (Hindi *kaḍā*), *kaṅkaṇa*[87] (Hindi *kaṅgana*) and *valaya*. The *Ratnāvalī* (Act III) refers to a pure gold bangle—*śuddhasuvarṇakaṭaka*. Bejewelled bangles were known as *ratnavalaya*[88] or *maṇivalaya* [89] We hear of emerald studded bangles (*marakatavalaya*),[90] of ruby bangles (*māṇikyavalaya*)[91] and bangle studded with a huge sapphire—*valayārpitasitamahopala*.[92] On the fingers were worn gold rings (*hemāṅgulīvakam*)[93] and rings inset with gems (*marakatāṅgulīyaka*.[94] In the *HC* (Ist *Ucchvāsa*), Sāvitrī is said to be wearing shell rings on the fingers of her right hand.

On the feet were worn anklets termed variously as *nūpura, kiṁ-*

kiṇikā, mañjira, haṁsaka,[95] etc. *Hemanūpura*[96] were gold anklets, *maṇinūpura,*[97] *maṇikiṁkiṇikāḥ*[98] and *ratnakiṁkiṇikāḥ*[99] were bejewelled anklets. *Marakatamañjirayugma*[100] were a pair of emerald studded anklets.

Although the post-Gupta age is being interpreted by some historians as an age of material decline owing to the capture of the oceanic trade by the Arabs and the consequent decline of city life, the evidence of literature and art does not seem to support this view. Here, aristocratic affluence and luxury, refinement and taste are reflected in an ever-growing tendency towards ornamentation.

Footnotes

1 Herringham, *Ajanta Frescoes*, Pl. XXXVI, 40; Moti Chandra, *Costumes, Textiles, Cosmetics and Coiffures*, p.86, fig.85.

2 Herringham, *ibid.*, Pl. XV, 17; Moti Chandra, *ibid.*, p.93, fig 129.

3 *Pāṇḍuranīlapāṭalaiḥ samāgatāḥ śakradhanuḥ prāṇabhidāḥ/ ādadhire ....vicitracīnāṁśukacarutām........* — *Kirāta.,*.16,58. Actually Bhāravi here compares the glow of fire to a *vicitracīnāṁśuka* of the hue of these colours.

4 In Cave XVII (left wall) of Ajanta, in the scene of Viśvāntara with his wife driving in a four horse chariot, the man seen from the left wears a short waist-cloth with stripes of exactly these colours i.e. cream, blue and pink.—Yazdani, *Ajanta*, Part IV, Pl. XXIII.

5 In Cave II (Yazdani, *ibid.*, Part II, Pl. XXIV) the figure of a jester wears a tunic decorated with a star pattern and held at the waist with a girdle. The lower garment visible below the knees, looks quite like a *chūridār*. In Cave XVII (Herringham, *op.cit.*, Pl. III,4) a maid, perhaps of foreign extraction, wears a moss green half-sleeved jacket. The material from which it is made is embroidered/woven /printed with digonally assorted stars. In a wall painting, two Nāga chiefs sit on a couch. In between them, a man in blue and gold flowered coat and a Persian head dress holds a sword with a blue hilt. Griffiths, John, *The Paintings in the Buddhist Cave Temples of Ajanta*, Vol.1, Pl. 16, Delhi, 1983.

6 *Sūkṣmavimalenāṁśukenācchaditatanulatā* of (*HC*, *Ucchvāsa* I) i.e. fine and thin, clinging white *aṁśuka*. In the same text (*ibid.*, 31), Mālatī wears a thin, white, silk dress lighter than a serpent's slough—*nirmokalaghutareṇa*. Sometimes the garment was fine and thin, but patterned also—*sūkṣmacitranivasana*—*Daśa.*, *Pūrvapīṭhikā*, 5th *Ucchvāsa*.

7 *Aghanena satarāgaṇenaparikṛtena dvitīyāmbareṇa* (*HC*, pp.72-73).

Śaṅkara, the Commentator, says—*tārāḥ sūtrabindavaḥ*. Were these sequins embroidered with silver or gold thread ? Such work—embroidery with star-like dots with gold and silver thread on fine georgette and chiffon—is popular to this day. At Ajanta, the king of Benares wears a lion cloth of very diaphanous material (Herringham, *op.cit.*, Pl. XXV.27).

8 *Kāśadukūla* (*Kirāta.*, 8,9) or white *dukūla*. In *Kādambarī* in the *Tārāpīḍavilāsavarṇanam*, Tārāpīḍa wears a *pāṭalikṛtadukūla*, i.e. a *dukūla* garment of pink colour.

9 *Aviralakusuṁbhakusumarasaraktadukūlakomalena—Kādambarī* : *Mahāśvetācandrāpīḍayoḥ sāndhyavidhiḥ*.

10 *Niśvāsahārye nirmokaśucini dhaute kalpalatādukūle—Kādambarī-prahitataradarśanam*. Cf. *niśvāsahāryam aṁśukam* (*Raghu.*, 16,43) i.e. extremely fine *aṁśuka* fit to be worn in summer. In the *Kādambarī* king Śūdraka is said to be wearing a white garment as fine as a serpent's slough—*viśadharanirmokaparilaghuni dhavale dhautavāsaṁsi*. Such fine garments, which were as light as a serpent's slough, are referred to as *nirmokapaṭṭa* in the *Raghuvaṁśa* (16,17).

11 *BKSS*, 17,60. *Mahapaṭṭorṇa* is definitely a mistake for *mahapatrorṇa* when read in the context.

12 *Netra* is usually referred to as *dhautadhavala* i.e. bleached white. *Priṅga* was a coloured cloth of floral design as mentioned in the Central Asian documents. It has been rendered as damask or unicoloured patterned or figured silk (Agrawala, V.S., *The Deeds of Harṣa*, p.106). *Netra*, too, had beautiful interwoven designs—*ucchitranetrasukumārasvasthānasthagitajaṅghākāṇḍaiḥ* (*HC*, p.206) i.e. 'whose knees were covered by tied trousers made of patterned *netra* cloth.'

13 *Kanakagarbhitakuṁkumpiñjaritavastraparidhānaḥ-Kuṭṭinīmatam*, 66.

14 *Raṅgadhūpanavasanaiḥ—BKSS*, 10.97. Cf. *Bṛhatbhāṣya*, III, 3001, which says that the cloth was first washed (*dhauta*), then it was calendered (*ghṛṣṭa*) and starched (*mṛṣṭa*) and then perfumed (*sampradhūmita*). In the *KM* the courtezan is described as wearing *mṛdudhautadhūpitāmbaram*, i.e. soft, washed and perfumed clothes.

15 *Tīrthayātrotsave*.......*śuklāmbarayugalena* (*Daśa.*, 5th *Ucchvāsa*). Cf. *NŚ*, 21, 123-24, which also enjoins pure, white apparel for such occasions. The *nityavasana* of kings was *citraveśa* (*ibid.*, 21.136) i.e. he was to wear gorgeous dresses daily.

16 At Ajanta, in Cave II, in the panels from the hall, there are two maids, both in *ardhoruka*. One is a dark complexioned chowrie-bearer in creamish or dull yellow shorts or *ardhoruka* with dark stripes on it. On another panel, there is another maid, bearing a

covered dish or basket in hand, with an off-white (and what looks like silk) *ardhoruka* with self-embossed checks of the same colour on it. Griffiths, J., *op.cit.*, Vol. II, Cave II, Plate 145, (Panels from Pillar (j) in the hall).

17 The *caṇḍātaka* could, however, be worn by men, too, The *lekhahāraka* in the *HC* wears a *caṇḍātaka*, i.e. half tunic, upto half the thighs. It was fastened to the back by an old, worn out ribbon.

18 *HC*, p.98. V.S. Agrawala in *The Deeds of Harṣa* (p.78) opines that this was a costume unknown in the Gupta period but introduced after the coming of the Hūṇas. In the excavations at Ahicchatrā many examples of female figures in clay have been found wearing this dress, whose date on the basis of archaeological stratification falls between 550 and 750 A.D.". See *Ancient India*, No.4, p.172, figs. 307, 308, 446.

19 *Kādambarī—Candrāpīḍasya digvijayavarṇanam*. Also *ālohitarāgenāṁśukena racitāvaguṇṭhanayā*; *ibid.*, *Patralekhāvarṇanam*; *avaguṇṭhanapaṭa*, *Śiśu.*, 5,17.

20 *Śiśu.*, 17,67.

21 *Kādambarī—Sundarīrabhisasāra*.

22 *Lalitavistara*, p.113, R.L. Mitra, Cal., 1877.

23 In Cave I at Ajanta, a foreign looking chief and his wife are sitting on a couch. The man wears a light greyish-blue tunic, half way upto his knee, which is trimmed with heavy gold brocade or embroidery. According to Griffiths, on the legs he is wearing 'stripped stockings.' This is probably a well fitting *chūrīdār* (the *cūrīs* of the *payjamas* giving the impression of stripes) which he has mistaken for stripped stockings. Griffiths, John, *op.cit.*, Vol. II, Cave I, Pl. 94, no. 67.

24 Lyre type of Samudragupta. The king is in a relaxed pose.

25 Kumāragupta I's coins; Lion-Slayer type of Candragupta II.

26 *E.g.* Standard type coins of Samudragupta.

27 *Kṛtābhiṣeke kila Vairocake vimalamuktāmaṇiparikṣepaviracitacitrapaṭamayavārabāṇapracchāditāśarīre.*

28 *Cf.* Pehalvi *stavaraka* and Arabic *stabraq*. It is an interesting fact that *stabraq* has been mentioned in the *Qurān* as a costly material worn by the *hoors* of heaven. The *stavaraka* may have been an imported textile, just as the *vārabāṇa* dress was borrowed from foreigners.

29 At Ajanta in Cave I, two patterns on pillows can be seen. One is the cushion used by Cāmpeya, which is made of cloth in which small stars are worked on silk in gold or silver thread on a dull or yellowish texture which itself is gold or silver cloth. The design

on the cushion which his consort uses consists of stars of four pointed flowers worked out on a dark background. Yazdani, *op cit.*, Part II, Pl. XXXIV Cushions with stripes and flowers were also popular. In one illustration we have the king resting against big, round, blue and maroonish-brown stripped cushions. Yazdani, *ibid.*, Part II, Plate XI. In yet another place we have dark green cushions with white stars (or flowers) – Yazdani, *ibid.*, Part IV, Pl. XXIX.

30 *Haṁsatūlagarbhaśayyopadhānaśālinī—Daśa.*, 2nd *Ucchvāsa. Haṁsapakṣāṁśukaprāyakomalāstaraṇa—BKSS*, 17,27. Cf. the Ajanta wall painting (Griffiths, *op.cit.*, Vol. I, Cave XVI (Pl. 48 B) showing Yaśodharā sleeping on just such a soft, light, white foamy *āstarana* (at the time of Buddha's departure)

31 E.g. *Kumāra.*, 1,14; *BKSS*, 17, 81. etc. In Cave I, at Ajanta, in the scene of the foreign chief and his wife, the curtain behind is of floral pattern. The background is dull yellow or cream (seems like *kiṁkhāb*) with small red rosettes. Griffiths, J., *ibid.*, Vol. II, Cave I, Pl.94, no.4. At another place, in the illustration of the *Haṁsa Jātaka* (Yazdani, *op cit.*, Part IV, Pl. XVII, Cave XVII) three types of curtains are illustrated. The middle is dark green with white flowers, the one to its right is dull yellow with black flowers and the one to its left is a light *geru* (dull orange) with white pattern.

32 The *Amarakośa* (2, 6, 121-22) give various technical terms for massage, bath, besmearing with pastes, etc., that were current in the Gupta period. Before the bath, the body was thoroughly cleaned and then perfumed with oil, etc.—*mārṣṭi, mārjanā, mṛja.* Just before the bath, the body was chafed (*udvartana*) and rubbed or kneaded or cleaned with unguent (*utsādana*). After the bath, the body was besmeared with unguent so that the perfumes washed away in bathing were restored—*carcā, cārcikya, sthāsaka, prabodhana, anubodha.*

33 Griffiths, J., *op. cit.*, Vol. I, Cave I, Pl. 7.

34 *Amarakośa*, 2, 6, 131.

35 *L.c.*; also *Kādambarī—Puṇḍarīkadehasyagagananayanam.*

36 *Amarakośa*, *l.c.*; *Nāgānanda*, 3, 9.

37 Since *loha* means metal, this variety of aloewood was probably heavy. For *agaru*, the early Arabs used the name *aghalukhi*, but later termed it *ud*. Five types of aloewood are mentioned. Out of those, the wood that sinks in water is *udgharki*. It is of black colour. *Loha* may be identified with this variety of aloewood, which was black and heavy like iron.

38 The *joṅgaka* is mentioned in Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* (2, 11) which deals with aromatic woods and resins in the royal treasury. According to the commentary it was a product of Kāmarūpa (Assam).

39 Yazdani, *Ajanta*, Part II, Plate XI—*Story of the Serpent, Śaṅkhapala Jātaka*. The woman standing behind the king wears blue (lotus) flower in her hair bun.

40 *Udayagiribālamandārapuṣpastabaka (iva) prācimahilālalāma lalāṭa*. Louis, H. Gray, *Subandhu's Vāsavadattā*, p. 175, Motilal Banarasidass, 1962.

41 *Pāṭalikṛtalalāṭenasīmantacumbinaścūḍāmaṇeḥ — Kādambarīvarṇanam, Kādambarī.*

42 See Postel, M., *op. cit.*, p. 121. The upper ornament, round, flower-shaped with a prominent *karṇikā* was termcd as the *karṇikā*. It may be noted that three sculpture photographs on p.121 of the above mentioned book show only women as wearing the *karṇikā* which is as ordained by the *NŚ*.

43 *Daśa, Pūrvapīṭhikā*, 5th *Ucchvāsa*; *Kādambarī, Śukanāsagauravarṇanam; Karpūra.*, Act II. The *ratnakuṇḍalas* are often depicted in sculpture as roundish or, more often, oval. There could be a single row or two-three rows of precious stones.

44 This might refer to the crescent-shaped *maṇikuṇḍalas* studded with at least three or four semi-circular rows of gems. Crescent shaped terracotta earrings have been reported from several sites all over India and even from Taxila. The most prolific findings are from Bhokardan (Aurangabad dist.) excavated by S.B. Deo and R.S. Gupta (*Excavations at Bhokardan*, 1974) and detailed by G.B. Deglurkar. They are dated to the Sātavāhana period, but such a design must have continued in the later conturies too. At Ter, mould used to make such earrings has been discovered from surface findings. At Mathurā Museum we have a Kubera of the Kuṣāṇa period wearing such crescent *kuṇḍalas* studded with gems. Postel, M., *op.cit.*, pp.26-27; 98-99.

45 Several crystal earring have been found at Kauśāmbī. Both varieties of crystal—frosted and completely transparent—have been found at Kauśāmbī. For illustration see *ibid*, pp. 39, 46, 51.

46 *Patralekhātaḥkādambarīdaśāvarṇanam.*

47 *Patralekhāvarṇanam.*

48 Gray, L., *Subandhu's Vāsavadattā*, p. 175.

49 Griffiths, J., *op.cit*; Vol. I, p.18, fig. 50 from wall painting II, Cave IX. *Cakrakuṇḍalas* are depicted in sculpture too. E.g. see the nude terracotta Mother Goddess from Buxar with a slender body (Patna Museum). Another one, a Cola Bronze from Darasuram

depicts a child between a man and woman wearing such *kuṇḍalas*; *ibid.*, p. 64 Though Postel describes them as 'earrings with a petal design' they are basically *cakrakuṇḍalas*.

50 *Karṇābharaṇamaṇerviprakiryamānamadhomukhakiraṇedrāyudhajālam—Kādambarī, Keyūrakena saḥ Taralikāyāḥ pratyāgamanam.*

51 *Bakulaphalānukāriṇibhiḥ tisribhiḥ muktābhiḥ kalpitena bālikāyugalena—HC*, 1st *Ucchvāsa*, p.32. V.S. Agrawala (*The Deeds of Harṣa*, p.29) has translated the above thus: "She wore in her ears a pair of earrings, each with three elongated pearls looking like *Bakula* fruit."

52 Griffiths. *op.cit.*, Vol.I, p.18, fig. 53, Wall Painting Cave I. The same also is in colour in Yazdani, *Ajanta*, Part II, Pl. XXXI.

53 The lotus-shaped ear-ornament is depicted in painting and sculpture. Griffiths, J., *op.cit.*, Vol.I, Cave II, Pl. 21; the ear-ornament of the figure painted on the extreme left.

54 *Daśa.*, *Pūrvapīṭhikā*, 2nd *Ucchvāsa*.

55 Bāṇa in his *Kādambarī* describes it as a dangler—*iṣadālambikarṇotpalam, Śūdrakavarṇanam*; also *Tārāpīḍavilāsavarṇanam* in the same text.

56 *Kādambarī, Śūdrakavarṇanam; Tārāpīḍavilāsavarṇanam.*

57 *Ibid., Śūdrakanityakṛtyavarṇanam.*

58 *Ibid., Pradoṣavarṇanam.*

59 *HC*, pp. 32, 114, etc. *Kādambarī, Tārāpīḍavilāsavarṇanam.*

60 *Ibid.*, *Rājakulavarṇanam*; again, *dhavalapatrikādyutisitakapolabhitti—HC*, p.21.

61 *Kādambarī, Cāṇḍālakanyāvarṇanam*; *ibid., Kādambarī-Candrāpīḍayoḥ prītivardhakopacāraḥ*.

62 *Haraśikhaṇḍenadvitīyakhaṇḍeneva kuṇḍalikṛtena jyotsnāmucādantapatreṇa, HC*, p.114

63 Postel, M., *op.cit.*, pp. 238, 240, Pl. XXXII, fig. 83, p.241.

64 *Karṇapāśam*.......*galitatālipatratāṭaṁkam—Viddha.*, 2,10.

65 *Ibid.*, 2,13.

66 *Hematālipaṭṭābharaṇa—Kādambarīvaraṇanam*.

67 A youth named Dadhīchi is described as wearing the *trikaṇṭaka* – *kadambamukulasthūlamuktāphalamadhyādhyāsitamarakatasya trikaṇṭakābharaṇasya, HC*, p.22

68 *Uddhuyamānadhavalacamarasatalagnatrikaṇṭakavalitavikaṭakaṭākṣaḥ—ibid.*, 4th *Ucchvāsa*, p.133.

69 *Trikaṇṭakamuktāphalālokadhavalita—ibid.*, p.135

70 *Atimahārhapadmarāgālokalohitikṛtadivasam ca taraṅgaka nāma karṇābharaṇam—HC*, 7th *Ucchvāsa*, p.218.

71 'Gaddādevī', Bihar, Indian Museum, Calcutta. In one ear she

wears a long tubular ornament, with perpaps a flower or pearl design. Postel, M., *op. cit.*, p. 75. Since it is a Pāla sculpture, its period is approximately the same as that of the *KM*.

72 *Rucako maṅgaladravye grīvābharaṇadantayoḥ iti Viśvaprakāśaḥ.*

73 *Padmarāgamaṇirevaikāvalimaṅgalakaroti*, pp. 93-94. The same drama (I.77) again describes the *mauktikahāra* or pearl necklace with *madhyaratna* of *kuṁkumaprabhā* (reflection of ruby ?).

74 *Kādambarī, Kādambaryaḥ saṁvādapreṣaṇam.*

75 Griffiths, J., *op.cit.*, Vol. I, Pl. 55, Cave XVII.

76 *Daśa.*, 6th *Ucchvāsa.*

77 *Kirāta.*, 7, 15.

78 *Ibid.*, 8, 23; *Karpūra.*, 2, 34.

79 *Viddha.*, 1, 32.

80 *Karpūra.*, Act II.

81 *Kādambarī, Śudrakasabhāvisarjanam.*

82 *Raśanā kalā kiṁkiṇī, Śiśu.*, 9, 743; *ābaddhapracuraparārghyakiṁkiṇiko*, *ibid.*, 8, 45.

83 Moti Chandra, *Bhāratīya Veśa Bhūṣā*, p. 74, fig. 57.

84 *Kādambarī, Rājakṛtavilāsavatīsāntvanām.* In fact, the bell design was so popular that it was limited not just to girdles, but also to bangles and rings. The Ajanta paintings depict bangles with tiny bells, and rings with a single tiny bell. Griffiths, J., *op.cit.*, Vol.I, Cave I, p.8, fig. 6; also *ibid.*, Cave I, Pl. 6 L.

85 *Kādambarī, Patralekhāvarṇanam.*

86 *Ibid.*, *Śūdrakasbhāvisarjanam.*

87 *Viddha.*, 2.26; 3.12, etc.

88 *Kādambarī, Śūdrakavarṇanam.*

89 *Karpūra.*, 2, 9.

90 *Viddha.*, 3,7.

91 *Kādambarīvarṇanam*, etc.

92 *Śiśu.*, 13, 44.

93 *BKSS*, 22, 28

94 *Kādambarī, Candrāpīḍadarśana-Kādambaryabhāvāveśaḥ.*

95 *Daśa.*, 5th *Ucchvāsa*; *Śiśu.*, 7, 23.

96 *Daśa.*, 6th *Ucchvāsa.*

97 *Kādambarī, Śūdrakasabhāvisarjanam, Tārāpīḍavilāsavarṇanam*; *Karpūra.*, 2, 32; *Viddha.*, 2,6.

98 *Viddha.*, 2.7.

99 *Śiśu.*, 7.5.

100 *Karpūra.*, Act II.

Chapter 9

Kuttani-matam : A Peep into the Culture of Eighth Century Kashmir

The *Kuṭṭanī-matam* is ascribed to the Kashmiri poet Dāmodaragupta. The colophon of the text gives the name of the author and his patron-king–*iti Śrīkaśmīramahāmaṇḍalamahīmaṇḍana-rājā-Jayāpīḍamantripravara-Dāmodaraguptakaviviracitam Kuṭṭanī-matam samāptam.*[1] Kalhaṇa, in his *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, mentions Dāmodaragupta as the author of *KM*[2] and the Prime Minister of King Jayāpīḍa. According to Kalhaṇa, Jayāpīḍa reigned from 751 A.D. to 782 A.D., but modern historians place him between 779 and 813 A D.[3]

The text is a storehouse of information for the social and cultural history of Kashmir of this period. It deals with courtesans and their wily methods of extorting money from the rich and throws light on the social scenario surrounding them and their patrons. It is, however, remarkable not only for its satirization of the courtesans and their patrons but is a mine of information also about princes and their ways, ministers, knaves, traders, bankers, as on cosmetics and the art of make-up, ornaments, etc. Since the courtesans are to be well-versed in the theatric arts, it is inevitable that there are prolific references to music, dance and *abhinaya*. What is extremely interesting is that it relates the actual staging of a historical play, the *Ratnāvalī* of Harṣa. The enactment of its first Act is described in detail. This is of invaluable use to the cultural historian.

Though the poet hails from Kashmir, he describes the famous cities of Kāśī and Pāṭaliputra in the east and Abu and Devarāṣṭra (i.e. modern Mahārashtra) in the West. These cities had lofty temples with *śikharas* and *mattavāraṇīs* or verandahs.[4] They abounded in wells, lakes and well laid-out gardens with garden-paths and seats. They also had *sattrāgāras* or free eating places for the poor.

At the head of the social system was the royalty—the kings and princes surrounded by their nobles and bureaucracy. The king's varied functions are described thus : *vāhanayānapadātigrāmādikakārya.*[5] The king had a large army, headed his armed forces and was the protector of his people. He is said to prepetuate dharma and was the upholder of justice. Verse 390 describes him in charge

of land grants. The king was surrounded by his court and the feudal nobles or '*ṭhakkuras*' as they are referred to. They were given *jāgīrs* or villages in the from of land grants: *āste likhito grāmo gṛhāṇa.........bhavasi tatasṭhakkuro* (*KM*, 930). These feudal nobles were endowed with soldiers, horses and dependents. This is gleaned from a dialogue of the ruler with one who does not spend any money on retaining either soldiers (*pattayo*) or *saptiti* (horses) or dependents (*poṣyajana*) but still demands a raise in salary.[6] Then there was a large bureaucracy which included the *pratihāra* or chamberlain, *saciva* or minister, city administrator (*nagaraprabhu*),[7] market-tax-collector (*haṭṭapati*),[8] tolls-tax-collector (*śaulkikādhyakṣa*),[9] *lekhavāhaka* or postman,[10] administrative officers (*prayogins*) and other government servants (*nṛpasevakas*). Then there were the dependents or servants of the king (*parijana*), his personal body-guards and betel-bearers (*tāmbūlakaraṅkavāhinī*), who are often referred to.

Corruption seems to have crept in the bureaucracy. The *haṭṭapati* is referred to as having appropriated a large part of the revenue. The *śaulkikādhyakṣa* is referred to as not caring even for the king's punishment (*agaṇitarājāpāyo*), and the one who never lacks money. At one place the prince himself points out to the laxity of officials—*prayogināṁ paśya mantharatām*[11] At another place a feudal lord, discontented with his lot, demands a raise in salary which the ruler does not grant him. That there was insecurity is evident by the fact that people going on journey had to undergo a lot of hardship. They had to reckon with thugs and thieves, and were not given shelter for a night's rest by suspicious householders. The woes of the traveller are summed up in verse 229 which says that "God has ordained for the traveller that he should beg his food as a mendicant, his bed should be the ground, his night resort the temple, his pillow a slab of brick."

Besides the aristocracy and bureaucracy, there were rich *śreṣṭhins* and *vaṇiks*. These people aped the aristocracy and lived in an opulent style. The Brāhmaṇas did not have the money of the merchants and bankers but were venerated by all. A Brāhmaṇa was expected to get education in the *brahmacrya āśrama* and thereafter to become a good *gṛhastha*.[12] As a student, his apparel was be of deer skin, i.e. coarse apparel. His conduct was to accord with the rules of the *Smṛtis* and *Śāstras*, and he was expected to learn the clear enunciation of the *Vedas*, bear the beating of the teacher in case of error, cut wood (*samidhā*) for sacrificial fires and serve his teacher. As a *gṛhastha* or householder he was to light the three sacrificial fires, serve the Brāhmaṇas and his elders, look after his

virtuous wife, keep contact with affectionate relations and perform *yajñas*. He was to discriminate between the proper and improper, be modest, and listen to the advice of his elders. A virtuous wife[13] of a good family is said to be the abode of all happiness. She was to understand what her husband desired and follow him in every respect. She was to be submissive and bashful and care for sex only in a modest way (i.e. in contrast to the vulgar ways of the courtesans).

It seems that women could not move about freely. Women of respectable families are said to have their faces covered. There are references to *avaguṇṭhana*,[14] *vadanāvṛtajālikā*,[15] and *samaguptāvaguptayuvati*.[16] In contrust, the public women, i.e. courtesans, actresses, dancers, singers, etc. are referred to as *pratyakṣayuvatigaṇa*[17] or *prakaṭapramadā*.[18] The wife was to be faithful and dutiful, but the men had a great deal of license—they could have more than one wife, keep a mistress and even frequent courtesans. Verses 790-91 refer to the *bahujāniḥ* (or a man with many wives) and in verse 810 keeping a mistress is said to be preferable to visiting a courtesan.

There are several words referring to courtesans.[19]—*veśyā, rūpājīvā, gaṇikā, vāravadhū, vāralalanā, paṇyastrī, sārthavanitā, prakaṭapramadā, pratyakṣanārī*, etc. The abode of the courtesans was frequented chiefly by *śreṣṭhivaṇigviṭakitavapradhāna* ...... (*KM*,68). Two types of people are referred to here : the *śreṣṭhins* and *vaṇiks* who patronised the courtesans and the others, that is the rakes (*viṭa*) and knaves (*kitava*), who were dependent on the courtesans themselves and lived with them. The official in charge of the courtesans' home was the *śālāpāla*.[20] There is reference to the *vāsakāgāra*, which was the room to be perfumed by flowers and incense, lighted up by lamps and with a counterpane on the bed.[21] This was the bedroom where the courtesan was to entertain her customer. In verse 349, there is an interesting reference to a customer desirous of a yet virgin courtesan, but her mother quotes a large price for her. It was not just the rich and the aristocrats who visited them but even some of the ascetic class. There are references to *Pāśupatācāryas*, *Nirgranthas* (*Nagnācāryas*) and fraudulent Brāhmaṇas (*vyājaliṅgin*) who freaquented courtesans.

From the references to the toilet of the courtesans, details can be gleaned about the cosmetics, ornaments, clothes, etc. of the people. Both men and women adorned themselves with a variety of perfumes, unguents and paints. Besmearing the body with sandal-paste (*candana*), saffron (*kuṁkuma*) and *khasa* was quite common. *Parimṛṣṭagātra-kuṁkumakiñcitpiñjaritasarvāṅgaḥ*—thus the entire

body was made smooth and coloured reddish-yellow with *kuṁkuma*.[22] Lac (*alaktaka*) was used by women to colour the soles of their feet and lips.[23] Collyrium was used for the eyes. The hair was died and perfumed with incense.[24]

A great variety of ornaments has been described in the text. Of the ear ornaments are mentioned *kuṇḍalas*, earrings, *kanakanāḍī* or a gold dangler shaped like a hollow stalk or tube, and an ear ornament termed *dantapaṅkti* which is said to have the shape of a saw (*karapatraka*) [25] Other ear ornaments included the *śirṣapatraka*. Of the necklaces are mentioned the gold chain (*cāmikarakaṇṭhasūtrikā*), gold string studded with precious stones (*maṇisanāthagalasūtra*), *muktāhāra* or pearl necklace and a neck ornament (*kandharābharaṇa*) termed *ṭiṭṭibhika*. From the name it may be inferred that it was shaped either like a bird or had a pendent of the shape of a bird. *Kācavartakamālā* was a string of thick glass beads. *Valaya*, *valayakalāpi* (peacock-shaped armlet?) and *kanakāṅgada* were armlets worn on the upper arm. *Hemakaṭaka* or gold bangle was worn on the wrist. *Tapanīyaṁ aṅgulīyam* meant a gold ring and *raśanā*,[26] a girdle.

In the text the terms denoting garments are mentioned as *nīvi*, *kañcuka* and *aṁśuka*. *Nīvi* was the lower garment of women. It was a cloth worn round a woman's waist with ends of the cloth tied into a knot in front. *Kañcuka* was a dress further close to the upper part of the body, a bodice. *Aṁśuka* was a fine or white cloth, usually muslin or silken (*parigaladālolāṁśukam*).[27] It could also be used by women as a garment to cover the upper part of the body; *lolāṁśukadṛṣṭāṁsakucanābhiḥ*—due to the fluttering of the *aṁśuka* her shoulders, breasts and navel could be seen.[28] Mention is made of *cīnāmbara*,[29] i.e. China cloth or silken cloth. Men wore a head dress or turban. The courtesan is described as wearing *mṛdudhautadhūpitāmbaram*, i.e. clean, soft and perfumed clothes. The prince's apparel is described as being made of extremely fine woven cloth [30] His shoes made a loud squeaking noise. A feudal lord's son[31] is described as wearing brocade garments tinged with saffron or *kuṁkuma*. He wore shoes which were lined with wax and material of Turkish origin.

In contrast to the prince and the feudal lord's son, the *lekhavāhaka* wore a cloak or covering of a material woven of thick and coarse thread, and tattered shoes.[32] The traveller is described as wearing old and ragged clothes (*karpaṭaka*).[33]

Of furniture, mention is made of the footstool (*pādapīṭha*),[34]

vadhrorupīṭhikā, *paryaṅka* or bed; mention is also made of *vitānaka* or bedspread.

As regards food, meat eating was common (*māṁsarasābhyavahāraḥ*); fish were well prepared with all ingredients.[35] Mention is also made of the *bhikṣā* or mendicant-food given to the traveller. It consisted of *kalama* or rice, *kulattha* (a kind of pulse), *aṇu* (the name of a very small grain such as sarsapa), *ciraka*, *caṇa* or gram, *masūra* (a variety of pulse), etc.—these were all mixed in one.

Chewing betel leaf had become very popular by this period and princes and rich men had their own betel bearers. Drinking and gambling too were popular and there are frequent references to *pānaka-goṣṭhis* or drinking assemblies. Hunting was a popular sport of the aristocracy and the rich. *Patracchedana* (making cutwork pattern on leaves), painting and craftwork with wax and wood[36]—these were the hobbies in fashion with the upper classes. To keep the mouth sweet smelling, the smelling of a specially prepared perfumed substance was quite popular with the fashionable *nāgarakas*.[37] Playing with ball was popular among ladies.

The picture painted in the *KM* thus has courtesans, fashionable and rich city-dwellers and typical city life. A sharp distinction is drawn between the urban and rural life. The village youth is mockingly described as anointing himself with *khasa* and making a topknot of his hair with a garland around it. His manners are said to be crude and rustic with no sense of propriety.

It was a fashion with the *nāgaraka* or city-dweller to be well-versed in the various arts and crafts. Thus, the typical man of the town was to show himself knowledgeable in the science of herbal medicines (*vṛkṣāyurveda*), painting (*citrasūtra*), the art of making cutwork pattern on leaves (*patraccheda*), magic (*bhramakarma*), model making and cooking (*pustasūdaśāstra*).[38] He was also to have knowledge of the performing arts, dance, music, the art of playing instruments, and of the musical treatises of Bharata, Viśākhila and Dantila (i e. Dattila).[39]

There are several references to the performing arts, i.e. to music, dance and drama. *Viṇā* was a popular musical instrument. It could be played either with a plectrum or the strokes could be made with the fingers themselves. Both the sorts are referred to in the text.[40] *Viṇāyāmparivādaḥ* refers to the plectrum with which *viṇā* was played while *nakharaprahararaṇanitam tantrivādyeṣu* refers to the *viṇā* played by the fingers. *Kuharita*, *kampita* and *recita* are referred to as different elements of *viṇā*-playing.[41] Verse 338 refers to the *dvipadi* composition—*gāyanagāthāmātram dvipādakam*. The *dvipadi*

was a particular type of song, perhaps based on the *Prākṛta-dvipadī-khaṇḍa* metre. This metre is of four kinds–*śuddha*, *khaṇḍa*, *mātrā* and *sampūrṇa*. The *dvipadī* referred to here is the *mātrā* type. Elements of both *nṛtta* (i e. pure dance) and *nṛtya* (i.e. *abhinaya*) are referred to in the text. Verse 84 mentions *bhujavalana* or rotating the limbs in a particular manner; *gātra-sāṁsthitilālitya* or *sauṣṭhava* of limbs i.e. when the limbs are in complete equilibrium; *udvahanapārśvavalitāni* or raising of side and turning of side; *sthānakaśuddhiśca cāturāśryam* which indicates the *caturasra aṅga*.[42] *Lalita aṅgahāra* indicates *lāsya nṛtta* or the dance which is not vigorous and consists of *sukumāra* or graceful dance movements. Verse 758 mentions the betel-bearer holding the betel with the *samadaṁśa* hand and the prince taking it with the *khaṭākamukha*-formed hand.[43] At one place the director praises Mālatī, the heroine, as a talented actress. She could perform various *sthānakas* and harmonious movements of limbs in *nṛtya*. Her voice changed according to *kāku* or intonation. In instrumental music her sense of *laya* or rhythm was faultless. She arranged her make-up and costume in accordance with her varying roles. She could express different *rasas* and *sāttvika bhāvas* (physical expressions of emotions) through her acting. Her *abhinaya* clearly showed the difference of *vipralambha śṛṅgāra* from *karuṇa rasa*. In fact, so realistic was her acting that it could express even *anubhāvas* like *vepathu* or trembling, *pulaka* or ecstacy and *sveda* or perspiration and the ecstatic audience forgot the distinction between the imitator and what was being imitated.[44] Verse 190 refers to *suci* which was a particular mode of *abhinaya*. *Nṛtya* or *abhinaya* was basically the expression of *rasa* through various *bhāvas—rasabhāvasamanvitam*. Verse 85 of the text refers to such a *bhāvarasairabhinaya*. But the *naṭa* or actor, even though himself not actually feeling the emotions (is able to enact them), is said to entertain the audience (*bhāvavihīno'pi naṭaḥ sāmājikocittarañjanaṁ kurute*, *KM*, 601). This line gives the essence of *nāṭya* or drama.

The *KM* also describes the enactment of a historical play, the *Ratnāvalī* of Harṣa. A certain prince of Devarāṣṭra (perhaps modern Maharashtra), named Samarabhaṭṭa, had come for pilgrimage to Kāśī. There, in a temple was enacted the first Act of the *Ratnāvalī* for him. By this time, there had been a sorry change in both the patrons and actors of drama. This is evident by the stage director's lamentations. He laments the fact that after the passing away of royal patrons like Anaṅgaharṣa (or Śrī Harṣa) the actors had to take resort at that holy place. He wondered as to the state the drama had reached where merchants were the patrons and courte-

sans actresses. The latter were indifferent to the art of drama and acted only when they were in need of money. In this context it were actresses who played the role of both women and men.[45]

The prince was seated in the temple and in front of him sat the dancers, the flutists and the public women. After the tuning of the instruments (*racite sakalātodye*) began the *prastāvanā* or prologue with the entrance of the *sūtradhāra* or stage manager. The flute player began playing and the *prāveśikī dhruvā* was rendered as a *dvipada* in the *rāga Bhinnavañcama.*[46] The *sūtradhāra* danced round the stage to the accompaniment of a *dhruvā* with appropriate *laya* and *tāla* which was of the measure of eight *kalās* (the time measure of ancient classical music). He then held dialogue with his wife, the *naṭī*. Thereafter, giving indication of the entrance of an important character, and having danced a few graceful steps, he made his exit along with *naṭī* to the accompaniment of the *naiṣkrāmikī dhruvā*, i.e. exit song. Thereafter, entered the elated Yaugandharāyaṇa, minister of king Udayana, who thought that the strange incident[47] seemed to foretell the success of Udayana. He then climbed on top of the palace and observed the people celebrating *Madanamahotsava* or the spring festival by performing the *carcari*. *Carcari* is both a song and a dance and we come across it in general texts. In the *Karpūramañjarī*, it is a song sung by the actor in an emotional state in a high pitched voice, in either the *druta* or medium *laya*. The *Saṅgītaratnākara* (4,291) mentions it as a *prākṛta* song sung in the spring festival—*sā vasantotsave geyā carcari prākṛtaiḥ pādaiḥ*.

Carcari as a mode of dance is used in the *Bhāvaprakāśana*; it is used specially in the *troṭaka*. Act IV in the *Karpūramañjarī* describes this dance. The dance is of the *lāsya* variety, the word *lāsya* is used for it (4,10). Then, after indicating the entrance of the king, Yaugandharāyaṇa makes his exit.

Thereafter entered the king and his friend, the jester. The king gazes in happiness at his people frolicking about and says—"Look, look friend, the people are making merry and frolicking in such a manner that there is no distinction between children, youth and old people; between respectable and public women; as to what should and should not be said. Look at the old man, his face coloured yellowish with scented powder, various flowers tucked in his hair, with his arms thrown up clapping and dancing to the sound of trumpets. Another young woman, who is intoxicated, sings the song of spring. The young woman not weary of frolicking about strikes a young man with water from her water-syringe who thereby feels quite gratified on this occasion of the festival. Who could stop even

respectable young women from uttering impolite words? The difference between respectable women and public women can only be discerned by the veil on their faces" (i.e., not by their behaviour).

Then the jester points out the entrance of two maids sent by Queen Vāsavadattā. They enter dancing even though their steps are not steady because they are intoxicated. They enact out the *sarojavartana abhinaya* and also the arrow or *śara abhinaya*.[48] The king praises their *abhinaya* and then comments at their intoxicated state: they are oblivious of the necklace tossed about by dancing; of the fallen flower from dishevelled hair; the two anklets clinging to their feet are crying due to the strain on the waist under the burden of the breasts; the spring festival has intoxicated them in such a way that they bear their heavy hips as if they were very light. Having taken the permission of Udayana, the Vidūṣaka, too, danced and sang the *carcari* with the two maids.[49] Having executed some *dhiroddhata* or vigorous and *laltia* or *lāsya* dance movements, the maids came to the king to give the message of Vāsavadattā : 'The Queen orders'—having thus begun they felt embarrassed and said-'No, no, the Queen having bowed to you requests that on the occasion of the worship of Kāmadeva, I would like to worship you too'. Having thus conveyed the message and executed dance movements according to their nature, age and occasion, they went behind the curtain.

Thereafter, removing the curtain[50] entered Vāsavadattā and her maids followed by Ratnāvalī disguised as Sāgarikā. Seeing the beautiful Sāgarikā and anxious lest the king should see her, the queen ordered her to the harem on the pretext of looking after the pet bird Medhāvinī. But since Sāgarikā had entrusted the bird safely to her friend Susaṅgatā, she thought that she would hide behind a tree and see whether here the worship of Kāmadeva was performed in the same way as in her father's palace. The king entered and was accosted by the queen who worshipped Kāmadeva and then the king. The latter seeing his queen, even though not new, was full of longing for her. Seeing the king Sāgarikā feels as if he is Kāmadeva personified and falls in love with him. Just then, behind the scene, a bard sings an āryā in praise of the king and announces evening time. Sāgarikā realises longingly that this was the same king to whom her father had promised her and makes her exit from the stage. The king, too, realising that it was dusk says to Vāsavadattā : 'Your lotus-face surpasses the beauty of the lotuses and the bees are slowly lurking in the interior of the buds as if smitten with shame.' Thereafter, having performed graceful movements round the stage, the hero along with the rest of the characters makes his

exit from the stage to the accompaniment of the ***niṣkrāmikī dhruvā***. With the completion of the act, the song and instruments also ceased playing.

The enacting of the play adheres quite closely to the text of the *Ratnāvalī*. The placing of the orchestra (*kutapa vinyāsa*), and the *nāndī* are described as part of the prologue and so are the ***prāveśikī*** and *naiṣkrāmikī dhruvās*. Thus we find here a vivid account of the enactment of an actual historical play and as such the *Kuṭṭani-matam* has rendered invaluable service to the cultural historian.

Footnotes

1 Cf. also *KM*, 2. (Text as edited by Narmadeshvara Caturvedi, Allahabad).
2 *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, 496.
3 Keith, A.B., *History of Sanskrit Drama*, p. 171.
4 In the dictionaries the term ***mattavāraṇī*** is given as a verandah of a special kind. Its most significant use is in the *Vāsavadattā* of Subandhu where we find *mattavāraṇayer varaṇḍakena*. The term is also used in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, B.H.U. ed., Vol.I, 2.68-72.
5 *KM*, 929.
6 *Ibid.*, 932.
7 *Ibid.*, 400.
8 *Ibid.*, 539.
9 *Ibid.*, 530.
10 *Ibid.*, 406.
11 *Ibid*., 936.
12 *Ibid.*, 415-24, 438.
13 *Ibid*, 439-44.
14 *Ibid*, 847.
15 *Ibid.*, 894.
16 *Ibid.*, 888.
17 *Ibid.*, 756.
18 *Ibid.*, 321.
19 The *Kāmasūtra* (6.5.28-30) refers to three grades of courtesans. The superior type of *gaṇikā* spends a lot of money on charity and religious purposes; the middling type is the *rūpājīvā* who adorns herself and is aesthetic; the lower type is the *kumbhadāsī*. However, there seems to be no such distinction in the *KM*. In fact, they seem to indicate only the *kumbhadāsī* type of courtesans.
20 *KM*, 795, 1012.
21 *Ibid.*, 140.
22 *Ibid*, 63. The *Kādambarī* (p.44) describes king Śūdraka as having

applied sandal paste on his chest and over that he applied a paste of saffron or *kuṁkuma*—*candanānulepadhavalitoraḥsthalam uparivinyastakuṁkumasthasakam*. The *Mālatī-mādhava* (1,37) refers to the *kapola-kuṁkumāni* (cheeks painted with saffron) of the maids of Mālatī.

23 *KM*, 7. The *Kāmasūtra*. (1,4,5) prescribes the use of wax over lips coloured with *alaktaka* (*dattvā sikthakamalaktakam*) A thin layer of wax was rubbed over lips coloured with *alaktaka* which gave the lips a glossy effect in the same way as 'lip gloss' is used over 'lipstick' these days. Cf., *kiñcinmadhucchiṣṭavimṛṣṭarāgaḥ* .... *adharoṣṭhaḥ*—*Kumārasambhava*, 7.18.

24 Cf. *Kumārasambhava*, 7.14; *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*, 77.11.

25 *KM*, 62. Cf. the ear ornament '*dantapatra*' which was very popular and is referred to in several ancient texts. In the *Nāṭyaśāstra* (B.H.U. ed., Vol.III, 21.6) it is described as being studded with a variety of gems (*nānāratnavicitrāṇi dantapatrāṇi*). In the *Raghuvaṁśa* (6.17) it is described as the yellow leaf of the *ketaka* flower. See also *Kumārasambhava*, 7.23. *Avasaktadantapatraprabhādhavalitakapolamaṇḍalam* — *Kādambarīkathāmukham*, (tr.) Ramsiya Misra, Allahabad, p.53.

26 *KM*, 67. The *NŚ* (Vol.III, 21.37-38) mentions various types of girdles—the *raśanā* had 16 strings, *kāñcī* a single string, *mekhalā* 8 strings and *kalāpa* 25,54 or 108 strands.

27 *KM*, 125, 468, 548, 840. In the *Kādambarī*, the *Cāṇḍāla* girl is referred to as covering her head with red *aṁśuka* cloth (*raktāṁśukaviracitāvaguṇṭhanam*). Because the cloth was light and fine, it could also be used for making banners (*taccīnāṁśukaiḥ kalpitaketumālam*—*Kumāra*., 3.7; *cīnāṁśukamiva ketoḥ*-*Śākuntala*, 1.34).

28 *KM*, 840. Cf. *aṁśukanibiḍanibaddhastanaparikarāḥ*—*Kādambarī*, p.71., *tanvaṁśukaiḥ kuṁkumarāgagaurairalaṁkriyante stanamaṇḍalāni*—*Ṛtusaṁhāra*., 6.4; *tanvaṁśukam pīnapayodhareṣu*—*ibid*., 3.4; *yatrāṁśukakṣepavilajjitānām*—*Kumāra*., 1.14.

29 *KM*, 343. It could be simple or of diversified colour. In the *Mālatī-mādhava* (6.5), mention is made of the latter sort (*uccitracīnāṁśuka*).

30 *Mṛdutarapaṭikāvaraṇaḥ*—*KM*, 741; Apte (*A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, p. 580) explains the word *paṭikā* as woven cloth.

31 *Uccanda-kanakagarbhita-kuṁkumapinjaritavastiparidhānaḥ*—*ibid*., 66. *Antarniviṣṭasikthakatauruṣkikakumbhikādicaraṇatraḥ-ibid*., 64.

32 *Ibid*., 218. *Sthūlaghanatantusaṁtatitānitanānāmbarāvaraṇam*—*ibid*. 406; *truṭita-caraṇatra*—*ibid*., 407.

33 *Ibid*., 218. Cf. *Harṣacarita*, (ed.) V.V. Mirashi, p. 3, where the

king is described as *dhavala-karpataprāvṛtaśiraḥ*. Here *karpata* denotes cloth in general.

34 *KM*, 35. *Sphaṭikapādapiṭha—Kādambarī*, p. 43.

35 *Upacāraya parivyanena saṁskṛtya bhuktvā yāvanmāṁsaṁ tyakṣyasi carmāsthiśeṣitam matsyam—KM*, 734.

36 *Ibid*., 235.

37 *Paripitadhūpavartiḥ—KM*, 148. Cf. *paripitadhūma-vartiḥ—Kādambarī-kathāmukha*, p. 83.

38 *KM*, 123.

39 *Ibid.*, 124.

40 *Ibid*., 14-16. *Parivādaḥ*—'An instrument with which the lute is played' (Apte, *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, p. 598). The *vipañcivīṇā* may be cited as an example of the *vīṇā* played with the plectrum. The *citravīṇā* was one in which the strokes were made with the fingers.

41 *Tantrivādyaviśeṣānuddāmānanyajanmanastasyāḥ/kuharitarecita-kampitasampādananaipuṇaṁ karoti jaḍān//—Ibid.*, 575. Bharata mentions *kuharita*, *recita* and *kampita* as *alaṁkāras* in connection with vocal music and not relating to instrumental. However, Śārṅgadeva (*SR*, Adyar ed., 6.1. 87-88) mentions *kuhara* hands as one of the thirteen ways of manipulating both hands on the *vīṇā*. *Bharata-kośa* (p.109) quotes Kumbha and refers *kampita* as *vīṇā-sāraṇā*.

42 *SR*, Adyar ed., Vol. IV, 7.1040. *Sthānakam* here probably indicates the *vaiṣṇava sthāna*.

43 *KM*, 576. Co-ordinated movement of hands and feet is termed *karaṇa* and *aṅgahāra* is a sequence of such *karaṇas*.

44 *Ibid.*, 803-08; Cf. Bhaṭṭa Lollaṭa's critique of the *Rasa-sūtra*, specially of the experience of the spectator viewing the actors on the stage. The spectators believe that they are viewing the real life situation and thus through the force of *anusandhāna* apprehend (*pratīti*) the *sthāyī bhāva* of the real life characters (since for him *rasa* is *laukika* and has its primary focus in the characters of real life). This developed and apprehended *sthāyī bhāva* is *rasa*. (Gnoli, R., *Aesthetic Experience According to Abhinavagupta*, text, p.3).

45 Cf. *NŚ*, 26.1. *Anurūpaprakṛti*—actresses in female roles, actors in male roles; *avirūpānurupiṇī*—actors and actresses playing roles of opposite sex.

46 *Dhruvā gāna* was the music of the theatre of the times. It is interesting to note that both the *Bṛhaddeśī* (325-26) and *Saṅgītaratnākara* (Adyar ed., 2.2.84) ordain the playing of *rāga Bhinnapañ-*

cama at the entrance of the Sūtradhāra.

47 Yaugandharāyaṇa sought the hand of Ratnāvalī, daughter of the Siṁhala king, for his master. En route to Kauśāmbī she was ship-wrecked, but was saved by the merchants of Kauśāmbī and brought to Yaugandharāyaṇa.

48 This indicates *abhinaya* of the arms. Śārṅgadeva quotes Kohala on this. *Sarojavartana* is probably the same as *kamalavartana* or *padmavartana* (*SR*, Vol. IV, Adyar ed., 7, p. 108). The *śara-abhinaya* probably indicates the *kapittha* hand or *hasta mudrā* which indicates actions like streching of an arrow, etc. (*cakracāpagadādeśca śarakarṣādikarmaṇi*, *ibid.*, 7, 133). Actually, in the *Ratnāvalī* (1.13-15) itself, the two maids enter singing and enacting a *dvipadī* ditty. It speaks of the coming of spring, the blossoming of various trees and the piercing of people's hearts with the flower-arrows of love. Possibly they are meant to enact this piece.

49 *Carcari* as a mode of dance is explained in the *Bhāvaprakāśana*. It is used specially in the *troṭaka*. Bhoja in his *Śṛṅgāra Prakāśa* (Vol.I, p.427) connects the *carcari* with the *Nāṭyaśāstra* which had the *piṇḍibandha* dance (a sort of collective folk dance) to be performed in spring time. In the *Ratnāvalī*, the maids are said to be singing and enacting a *dvipadī*, though the Vidūṣaka mistakes it for a *carcari*.

50 According to the *Naṭyaśāstra* and *Abhinavabhāratī*, there were curtains at two places on the stage—one was between the *raṅga pīṭha* (front stage) and *raṅga śīrṣa* (back stage); the other probably hung on the door between the *nepathya*, i.e. green room and *raṅga śīrṣa*.

Chapter 10

Some Socially Depressed Classes—The Candalas

Ancient Indian society was, like other societies, partly a congeries of diverse groups, and partly a system formulated as *dharma* or Law in the widest sense. It included kinship groups, ethnic groups, classes, tribes, regional groups, economic or functional groups, and castes. Thus Manu speaks of *Jāti-jānapadān dharmān śreṇi-dharmāñśca dharmavit/samīkṣya kuladharmāñśca svadharmam pratipādayet//* Jāti, janapada, kula and śreṇi are here mentioned as distinct units. Jāti includes both varṇa and the jātis arising from the mixture of varṇas—varṇasaṁkara. Varṇasaṁkara could be *anuloma* or *pratiloma*. The Cāṇḍālas were a part of the *pratiloma varṇasaṁkaras*. Within the varṇas the Śūdras came to be given a low and an increasingly depressed status in the post-Vedic times and within them the Cāṇḍālas apparently were placed at the lowest.[1] Their depressed status is attested by Fa-hsien and al-Beruni.

The theatre represented social personages as high (*uttama*), middle (*madhyama*) and low (*adhama*). In theory they are described in terms of their character and moral virtues but generally limited to certain classes and castes. Thus, the higher personages included kings, priests and merchants, the middling those who lived by professional skill and the industrial arts, and the low included labourers and despised professions and castes. The Śūdras were a despised caste (varṇa or jāti), but not only were they a part of the cast, they were a recognized part of the spectators. The actors as a class were placed within the Śūdra caste (*NŚ*, 27, 38-40). Again they had a place in the panel of judges (*prāśnikas*) which included not only the priest and the grammarian but also *nartaka*, *citrakṛt*, and *gāndharva* (*NŚ*, 27, 64-65). Nevertheless social legislators accorded them a low position. Thus Kauṭilya says—*Śūdrasya dvijāti śuśruṣā vārtā kāru kuśīlava-karma ca* (*Arthaśāstra*, 1.3). Manu, too, is derogatory (10,22); so also is Yājñavalkya (1.161).

If the socially low status of the actors is attested by their being regarded as a part of the Śūdras, it is also clear that the theatre provided an avenue to them to rise and make a name just as the industrial arts and agriculture did. But as far as the Cāṇḍālas were concerned even this silver lining hardly existed because of the

stigma of untouchability which attached to them.

In the *Bālacarita* (Act II) of Bhāsa, we have the strange scene of Cāṇḍāla maidens approaching Kaṁsa and saying-*Āaccha bhaṭṭā āaccha amhāṇaṁ kaṇṇānam tue saha vivāho hedu.* Kaṁsa is scandalized. The Cāṇḍāla-kanyās are also described as Mātaṅgīs. In the *Avimāraka* we see Caṇḍa Bhārgava cursing the king of Sauvīra to become a Śvapāka (Act IV). In the *Mṛcch.* (Act X) Cāṇḍāla characters appear in their time-worn role of executioners. "We are experts in chaining and leading a recently condemned criminal to the gallows, and are skilled in cutting off his head or impaling him without loss of time." But they also say "we are not Cāṇḍālas even though we have been born in a Cāṇḍāla family. Those wicked persons are Cāṇḍālas who oppress a good man." Elsewhere (Act VIII), a monk uses Cāṇḍāla in his powerlessness as a symbol of egoism. In the *Mudrārākṣasa* (Act VII) also the Cāṇḍālas appear in the role of executioners. In the *Bṛhatkathāślokasaṁgraha*, which was based on the work of Guṇāḍhya, the Mātaṅgas are described as a prosperous forest-dwelling tribe with their own settlement called Pakkaṇa or Pakṣaṇa (3.22 ff.).

It seems that the Cāṇḍālas were originally a tribe which was treated with disdain but was gradually admitted as an untouchable jāti to which were assigned such functions as of the executioner. To explicate their almost unique and somewhat enigmatic character, it is necessary to turn to the literary evidence relating to them.

The word Cāṇḍāla does not occur in the early Vedic Saṁhitās. Its first occurrence is probably in the *Vājasaneyī saṁhitā* (30,21) —*Vāyave Cāṇḍālam.* i.e. Cāṇḍāla is to be sacrificed to Vāyu. Perhapsthe correspondence between the Cāṇḍāla and Vāyu was their wandering. So Cāṇḍāla could have been a wandering tribe.

The next significant reference to Cāṇḍālas in the Vedic literature is in the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* (5,10.7) which says that those who have a filthy conduct, would be reborn in a filthy species, may be as a dog or a pig or a Cāṇḍāla. At the same time the *Chāndogya* (5,24,4) states that the person who has the knowledge, if he were to give his leavings of food to the Cāṇḍāla even that would be a sacrifice to the self as *Vaiśvānara-evamvid yadyapi Cāṇḍālāya ucchiṣṭam prayacched ātmani haiva asya tad Vaiśvānare hutam syāt.*

In the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* there is an interesting passage (1,3,10) in connection with the story of the gods "who attempt to rise above the asuras by *Udgītha.*" This devatā (Prāṇa) throwing aside the sin that was death to these devatās (Vāk etc.) sent it to the ends of the quarters and he put down the sin of the devatās

there; therefore one should not go to people (outside the Aryan pale) nor to the ends (of the quarters) thinking "otherwise I may fall in with Pāpaman, i.e. death." Though this passage does not mention the Cāṇḍālas as such, it is significant in as much as people and regions that were non-Aryan came to be associated with death.

Fick holds that originally the Cāṇḍālas may have been a non-Aryan tribal group.[2] There is ample evidence to support this. There are several references to Cāṇḍālas where they are closely associated with non-Aryan tribes and Mlecchas and also to their strange tongue. Hence, originally they seem to be despised by the Aryans for being a wandering non-Aryan tribe, i.e. because of the ethnic factor. Later on, because of their unclean and low occupation they could have been held as untouchables. During the Vedic period, however, though they were despised there is no reference to their untouchability.[3]

During the 5th to 3rd cent. B.C. evidence about the Cāṇḍālas may be gleaned from the accounts of the Greek travellers, the *Artha-śāstra*, the Buddhist and Jaina texts and the Epics. In the accounts of the Greek travellers, mention is made of a class "half wild, which is constantly engaged in a task of immense labour, beyond the power of words to describe—that of hunting and taming elephants."[4] This may perhaps be a reference to the Mātaṅgas. At another place, the 'castes' of herdsmen and hunters are referred to. It may be pointed out here that the Cāṇḍālas lived by hunting too. In fact the Greek accounts say that "in return for clearing the land of wild beasts and fowls which devour the seed sown in the fields, they receive an allowance of grain from the king. They lead a wandering life and live under tents."[5] These accounts become significant in the light of the the statements made in the *Arthaśāstra*. Kauṭilya says that "either by inducing foreigners to immigrate *(para-deśāpavāhanena)* or by causing the thickly populated centres of his own kingdom to send forth the excessive population, the king may construct villages either on new sites or on old ruins."[6] Again, he says that a kingdom's borders were to be gaurded by *antaḥpālas*, but the interiors (he means the regions beyond settled areas) were to be gaurded by trappers, Śabaras, Pulindas and Cāṇḍālas and foresters.[7] It is not unlikely that these forest-dwelling tribes were given a place in the society because of political necessity, hence their inclusion among mixed castes. The *Arthaśāstra* (2,423) says that the cremation ground was the quarter of the Cāṇḍālas. This suggests that the occupation of the Cāṇḍālas included the disposal

of the dead. The same text (*Arthaśāstra*, 3, 3, 28) also says that the Cāṇḍālas were engaged in whipping the offenders. Where Kauṭilya discusses penalties imposed for assault, he says : "for striking compensation is to be paid and half of the fines levied for touching. This rule shall also apply to Cāṇḍālas and other lowly people (committing the same offence)."[8] This has been interpreted by some to indicate untouchability. However, if read in its proper context, it gives no such indication. At the beginning of the 19th Chapter Kauṭilya defines assault as "touching, striking or hurting."[9] Now this is a general statement which is applicable to all, not just the Cāṇḍālas only. So according to Kauṭilya even touch shall constitute assault. He further elaborates that when a person touches with hand, mud, ashes or dust the body of another person below the navel, he shall be punished 3 paṇas, with the same but unclean things, with the leg or spittle 6 paṇas, with saliva, urine etc. 12 paṇas.[10]

Buddhist texts repeatedly refer to the Cāṇḍāla, Veṇa, Niṣāda, Pukkusa and Rathakāra as low born (*hīnajāti*).[11] In one of the Jātakas there is an episode where a Brāhmaṇa is deprived of his Brāhmaṇahood for drinking water mixed with rice water a Cāṇḍāla had used. It goes on to say that if a Kṣatriya had done this he would not be outcasted. It then adds that, "whosoever are in bondage to the notions of birth or of lineage ……they are far from the best wisdom and righteousness".[12] There are instances in the Jātakas of Kṣatriya princes working as potters, basket-makers, florists, cooks, traders and living by hands, of Brāhmaṇas living by trade and as archers, weavers, wheelwrights, as also of Brāhmaṇas who lived as hunters and trappers.[13] The Jaina *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra*[14] (XIIth lecture) mentions that a Jaina monk of great piety, who had humbled arrogant Brāhmaṇas, was born in the family of Śvapākas (Cāṇḍālas). The corpse burners (*chavadāhaka*, who are mentioned along with the Niṣādas, Veṇas, etc. in the *Milindapañho)*[15] (p.331) were probably the Cāṇḍālas.

The *Mahābhārata* describes the Cāṇḍāla as a hunter and trapper,[16] one who executed criminals, and lived outside villages.[17] The *Anuśāsanaparva*[18] has a Chapter on varṇasaṁkaras where it describes the Cāṇḍāla as the offspring of a Śūdra male and Brāhmaṇa female. The progeny of a Cāṇḍāla male and other mixed caste females are described thus—the Pulkasa, who ate the flesh of donkeys, horses and elephants, wore the cloth of the corpses and ate in broken vessels; the Pāṇḍuśaupāka who made baskets; the Saupāka and the Antevasāyī who lived on cremation grounds and hence

were probably the the corpse-burners. Besides the cremation grounds, these various types are said to live on cross-roads, mountains, under trees and as wearing iron ornaments. Some of the passages in this chapter are quite significant It is said that these, if they help cows and Brāhmaṇas, leave cruel actions, speak the truth, forgive others, protect others even by endangering themselves, then there is no doubt that even they can attain spirituality. A Śūdra with noble conduct and who is religious should be respected rather than a man of high caste but lowly conduct. Furthermore, even if a man's *kula* is blemished, he can again establish it by good conduct.

The *Śāntiparvan*[19] gives a graphic description of the Cāṇḍāla hamlet. Their settlement was in some forest. All around were scattered broken bones and skulls of various animals, pigs and asses, weapons to kill dogs, and broken pots. Their clothes, which were tattered consisted of the ones removed from corpses. Their huts were decorated with garlands removed from the corpses, as well as the skin shed off by snakes, and surrounded by herds of dogs. There was a lot of noise there of cocks, of donkeys braying and of the Cāṇḍālas quarreling with each other. There is a significant passage saying that their huts were surrounded by temples, in which resounded the cries of animals. The Cāṇḍāla food was dog meat. More important than this is an episode and the conclusion inferred from it. At a time of severe famine sage Viśvāmitra enters a Cāṇḍāla habitation looking for food which he does not get even by begging the Cāṇḍālas. Finally, in great anguish he decides to steal dog's meat from a Cāṇḍāla's hut. He is, however, caught stealing and the Cāṇḍāla is more shocked than Viśvāmitra himself. In the dialogue that follows the Cāṇḍāla fervently tries to dissuade the sage from such a profane action. Viśvāmitra insists that he will suffer no ignominy as his first duty is to protect his own life. Thereafter, Viśvāmitra takes away dog's meat, cooks it himself and even offers pieces of it as sacrifice to the gods and manes. The conclusion of the story is not eternal hell for Viśvāmitra as one would expect, but quite the reverse. The gods and manes were extremely pleased. There were heavy rains and Viśvāmitra attained great *siddhi*. This extremely interesting and significant story shows that untouchability was a far off cry at that time.

In the *Rāmāyaṇa*[20] the Cāṇḍālas are described as dark complexioned, wearing dark clothes and short hair, smeared with ashes from the *śmaśāna* and wearing iron ornaments, dealing with corpses, cruel, eating dog meat, ugly, despised and merciless. There is

a telling tale[21] which says that Triśaṁkuka, who was turned into a Cāṇḍāla by a curse of Vasiṣṭha, goes in misery to Viśvāmitra. The latter decides to perform a *yajña* for Triśaṁkuka in which he invited all the great sages. Except Vasiṣṭha and his sons, who object to the idea of a Cāṇḍāla's *yajña* and eating a Cāṇḍāla's food, all the other sages come. Viśvāmitra vows that he would sent Triśaṁkuka to heaven in that very Cāṇḍāla form and he succeede in doing so. The *Bhagavadgītā* states, *śunicaiva śvapāke ca-paṇḍitāḥ samadarśināḥ*.

Around 2nd cent. B.C. we have the reference of Patañjali[22] to Cāṇḍālas and Mṛtapas as niravasita Śūdras. The *Nāṭyaśāstra* (17,49) BHU, ed.) lumps Cāṇḍālas with the tribes like Ābhīras, Śabaras, Śakāras, Dramilas, and Āndhras, terms them as lowly and their language as those of the foresters and unfit for civilised use. It also brackets the Cāṇḍālas with the Pulkasas (*ibid.*, 17,53).

The *Sūtras* and *Smṛtis* treat the Cāṇḍāla as the most despicable of the *partilomas*. All term him as the offspring of a Śūdra with a Brāhmaṇa woman. The *Gautama Dharmasūtra* (21,4, Oxford 1879) says that to be an outcaste means "to be deprived of the right to follow the lawful occupations of twice-born men". The Cāṇḍāla is the most reprehensible of the *partilomas* (*ibid.*, 4,20). Gautama also forbids Vedic study in the vicinity of a Cāṇḍāla or a Śūdra. The same idea is voiced by Āpastamba (*ibid.*, I, 3,9, 15-17). He gives cremation ground as their living place (*ibid.*, II, 1,2,6). Āpastamba further declares that "As it is sinful to touch a Cāṇḍāla (so also) to speak to and look at him. (The penance) for touching him is to bath fully, for speaking to him to speak to a Brāhmaṇa and for looking at him to look at the heavenly luminaries (*ibid.*, II, 1,2, 8-9). The *Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra* (1.11.34) states that one must bathe after touching a Cāṇḍāla, and that a Brāhmaṇa falls if he has connection with a Cāṇḍālī (2,4,14). According to the *Viṣṇu Dharmasūtra* (16,11 and 14) their occupation is to be hangmen or to kill those offenders who are condemned to death. The Cāṇḍālas have to stay outside the village and wear the clothes of corpses. Among the earliest occurrences of the word *aspṛśya* (meaning untouchable in general) is that in the *Viṣṇu Dharmasūtra* (V,104)—*Kāmakāreṇāspṛśyastraivarṇakam spṛśan vadhyaḥ*—if an untouchable deliberately touches a man of the three higher castes he should be punished by beating.

The *Manu Smṛti* (X.36,51) makes only the Āndhras, Medas, Cāṇḍālas and Śvapācas stay outside the village and the Antyavasāyins (X.39) in a cemetry. Manu (X.52-56) also says that vessels used

by them cannot be used by others (even after putting them in fire), their wealth consists of dogs and asses, their apparel should be the garments on the corpses, they should take their food in broken vessels, their ornaments should be made of iron, they should roam incessantly and not enter towns and villages at night. They have to carry the corpses of people who have no relatives at the orders of the king, they have to act as hangmen, they may take the clothes, ornaments and bed of persons who are to be exectued. Manu (V,15) prescribes a bath for coming in bodily contact with anyone of these, viz., a *divākīrti* i.e. Cāṇḍāla, Udakyā, Patitā, Sūtikā, a corpse or one who has touched a corpse. So also Āṅgirasa (152). Atri (267-69) says that if a *dvija* comes in contact with a Cāṇḍāla, Patitā, Mleccha, a vessel of intoxicating drink and a *rajasvalā*, he should not take meals (without bathing) and if he comes in contact with them during the course of meal, he should throw the food away and bathe." Uśanas (9-10) says that their ornaments are to be of lead or iron, they should have a leather throng round their necks or a cymbal under their armpits and they should remove the dirt of of the village in the first part of the day. The *Veda-Vyāsa Smṛti* (1.9-10) says that there are three kinds of Cāṇḍālas—offspring of a Śūdra and Brāhmaṇī, that of an unmarried girl, that of a union with a *sagotra* girl. Aparārka (p. 923) quoting a verse of Vṛddha Yājñavalkya says that on touching Cāṇḍālas, Pukkasas, Mlecchas, Bhillas and Pārāsikas and persons guilty of mahāpātakas, one should bathe with clothes on. Medhātithi states that the Cāṇḍāla is the only *pratiloma* who is untouchable—*Cāṇḍāla ekaḥ pratilomo'spṛśyaḥ* (Medhātithi on *Manu.*, X, 13).

Atri (verse 249) says there is no taint of untouchability when a person is touched by an untouchable in a temple, religious processions, marriages, sacrifices and festivals. Bṛhaspati and the *Smṛtyārthasāra* (p.79) say the same. The *Nityācārapaddhati* (p.130) quotes a remarkable verse to the effect that even on coming in contact with Cāṇḍālas and Pukkasas one need not bathe if the latter stand near a temple of Viṣṇu and have come for the worship of Viṣṇu. The *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* (X,70,43) says that even the antyavasāyins are purified by listening to the praises or names of Hari, repeating his name or contemplation. The *Nirṇayasindhu* quotes a passage of the *Devīpurāṇa* that authorises antyajas to establish a temple of Bhairava. The *Mitākṣarā* (on *Yājñavalkya*, III.262) says that the *partiloma* castes have the right to perform *vratas*. All this proves that the so-called untouchables were not entirely excluded from worship.

In the Gupta period, Fa-Hsien's account[23] deposes important evidence. He says "throughout the whole country the people do not kill any living creatures, nor drink intoxicating liquor nor eat onions or garlic. The only exception is that of the Cāṇḍālas. That is the name for those who are (held to be) wicked men and live apart from others. When they enter the gate of a city or a market place, they strike a piece of wood to make themselves known, so that men know and avoid them and do not come into contact with them .... Only the Cāṇḍālas are fishermen and hunters and sell flesh meat." Hiuen Tsang,[24] in the age of Harṣa, says : "They are forbidden to eat the flesh of the ox, the ass, the elephant, the horse, the pig, the dog, the fox, the wolf, the lion, the monkey and all the hairy kind. Those who eat them are despised and scorned and are universally reprobated; they live outside the walls and are seldom seen among men."

The *Kādambarī*[25] of Bāṇa has an extremely interesting description of a Cāṇḍāla girl. She is said to be of Dakṣiṇāpatha. She wanted to meet the king in court and present him with a wonderful parrot. The king sees no harm in this and allows her to enter. She is accompanied by a Cāṇḍāla man, whose apparel is white and who is dressed in a civilised manner—*āryaveśenaśubhravāsasa*. The Cāṇḍāla girl is told to stand and look at the king from a distance only. She is certainly not dressed in iron ornaments as described in the *Śāstras*. She wore a beautiful pearl necklace *(atisthūlamuktāphalaghaṭitena śurcinā hāreṇa)*, beautiful ear ornament (*dantapatreṇa*), bejwelled bangles (*ratna-valaya*), girdle (*mekhalā*) and jewelled anklets (*nūpuramaṇinām*). She wore a dark cloak and red veil. But she is described as *Mātaṅgakuladūṣitam* and *ajātim*, and also as *amūrtamiva sparśavarjitām*, *ālekhyagatāmiva darśanamātraphalam*. In metaphorical language, only to be seen as if in a painting, untouchable as if without body. The king says "why has the beauty been born in a caste which is untouchable—*apagatasparśasaṁbhoga*. Her flawless beauty is probably because even the creator created her without touching her because of the fear of the pollution—*Mātaṅgajātisparśadoṣabhayād*. Love union with one of her caste is greatly condemned.

About the middle of 11th cent. Alberuni[26] writes : "The people called Hadi, Ḍoma, (Doṁba), Cāṇḍāla and Badhatan are not reckoned amongst any caste or guild. They are occupied with dirty work, like the cleansing of the village and other services. They are considered as one sole class, and distinguished only by their occupations. In fact, they are considered like illegitimate children, for

according to general opinion they descended from a Śūdra father and a Brāhmaṇa mother as the children of fornication; therefore they are degraded outcastes." He, however, also quotes Vāsudeva saying : "This apart, all men are equal to each other as Vāsudeva says regarding him who seeks salvation. In the judgement of the intelligent man, the Brāhmaṇa and Cāṇḍāla are equal."

It will thus be seen that the Cāṇḍālas represent the most ancient and persistent case of untouchability in ancient India.

Footnotes

1 *Ya iha kapūyacaranā abhyāso yatte kapūyaṁ yonimapyeran śvayonim vā sūkarayonim vā Cāṇḍālayonim vā.*

2 Fick, R., *The Social Organisation in North-East India in Buddha's Time*, pp. 204ff., tr. Mitra, S.K., Calcutta 1920; cf. Kangle, R.P., *The Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra*, III, p.146, Bombay, 1965.

3 See, Kane, P.V, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. II, pt.I, pp.166-68, Poona, 1941. One could perhaps conjecture that separate quarters for them were maintained due to the desire for excluding them from the general run of social life. such segregation could be enforced without the rule of untouchability as well, e.g. the Jews were segregated in medieval Christian towns without the concept of untouchability being there. Examples are known of severe restrictions on the blacks of southern USA without the actual concept of untouchability.

4 Mc Crindle, J.W., *Ancient India as Described by Megasthenes and Arrian*, pp. 138-39, Calcutta, 1926.

5 *Ibid.*, p.84.

6 *Arthaśāstra*, 2,1,1.

7 *Ibid.*, 2,1,6.

8 *Avagurṇe niṣkrayaḥ sparśe'rdhadaṇḍaḥ. Tena Cāṇḍālāsūcayo vyākhyātaḥ—ibid.*, 3,19,14-15.

9 *Daṇḍapāruṣyam sparśanamavagūrṇam prahatamiti, ibid.*, 3,19,1.

10 *Nabheradhaḥ kāyaṁ hastapaṅkabhasmapāṁsubhiriti spṛṣaṭastripaṇo daṇḍaḥ tairevamedhayaiḥ padasthivanikābhyāṁ ca ṣaṭpaṇaḥ chardimutrapuriṣādibhirdvādaśapaṇāḥ, ibid.*, 3,19,2-3.

11 *Majjhima Nikāya*, 93,96,129, ed. Trenckner, V. and Chalmers, R., London, 1888-1902; tr. Chalmers, London, 1926-27; Horner, I.B., London, 1954-59; *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, II.85, ed. Morris, R., and Hardy, E., PTS, London, 1885-1900, tr. Woodwards, F.L., and Hare, E.H., London, 1932-36; Bose, A.N., *Social and Rural Economy of Northern India*, Vol. II, p.435, Calcutta, 1945.

12 Rhys Davids, T.W., *Buddhist India*, p.58

13 *Ibid*., pp. 56-57.
14 *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra*, ed. Charpentier, J., Uppsala, 1922; tr. Jacobi, H., SBE, XLV, Oxford, 1895.
15 *Milindapañho*, ed. Trenckner, V., London, 1880; tr. Rhys Davids, T.W., SBE, XXXV-XXXVI, Oxford, 1890-94.
16 *Śāntiparva*, Vol. I, Ch. 138 (Gita Press).
17 *Anuśāsanaparva*, Vol. VI, 48, 11.
18 *Ibid*., Ch. 48.
19 *Śāntiparva*, 141, 29ff.
20 *Rāmāyaṇa*, 1.58, 10-11; also 1.59, 19-21.
21 *Ibid*., Ch. 58-59.
22 *Mahābhāṣya* on Pāṇini, II.4.10 (Vol. I, p.475).
23 *A Record of Buddhist Kingdoms*, Fa-hien's Account, p.43. Tr. James Legge (Ed. Paragon Book Reprint Corp. and Dover Pub.), New York.
24 Beal, trans. of Hiuen Tsang's *Si Yu Ki*.
25 *Kādambarī*, pp.25ff.
26 *Alberuni's India*, Vol. I, pp.101-02; II, 137-38, ed. Sachau, E.D., London, 1914.

Chapter 11

Ancient Dance Forms

Classical Indian dance has two distinct facts—*nṛtta* and *nṛtya*. *Nṛtta* is pure dance in accordance with rythm and tempo. It is composed of the definite sequences of the combined movements of hands and feet, culminating in some characteristic pose or stance. *Nṛtya* was dance with mime. It can also be called *abhinaya*, which is the term popularly used by practising dancers for this aspect of dance. It involved gesticulations, facial expressions and acting. The purpose was the enactment of *rasa* by some narrative theme or lyrical composition.

Āṅgika abhinaya or *nṛtya* relates to the movement of major limbs (*aṅgas*) and minor limbs (*upāṅgas*), their use for the expression of *rasa* and of dominant (*sthāyi-bhāva*) and transitory moods (*sañcāri-bhāva*). The six *upāṅgas* are eyes (*netra*), brows (*bhru*), nose (*nāsa*), lips (*adhara*). cheeks (*kapola*) and chin (*cibuka*). The six *aṅgas* are head (*śiraḥ*), hands (*hasta*), hip (*kaṭi*), chest (*vakṣaḥ*), sides (*pārśva*) and feet (*pāda*). Hand poses or movements are basically of three types. The first is *asaṁyuta hasta* performed by a single hand; the second is *saṁyuta hasta* performed by both the hands; the third is *nṛttahasta* frequently used in *nṛtta*. *Nṛtta* or pure dance consists of the following elements viz. *nṛttahasta*, *sthāna* or posture, *cāri* or movements, *karaṇas* or coordinated hand-feet movement, sequence of *karaṇas* i.e. *aṅgahāras* and *maṇḍala*, i.e. a sequence of *aṅgahāras*.

There were two basic dance forms viz. *tāṇḍava* and *lāsya*. *Tāṇḍava* was created by Lord Śiva. It was of the *uddhata* or vigorous style. *Tāṇḍava* was performed during the *pūrvaraṅga* staged along with the *devastuti* that was sung and was based on the *vardhamānaka*, a complicated beat-structure of the *Gāndharva* form of music. *Recita aṅgahāras* were greatly used in the *tāṇḍava*. *Lāsya* was the *sukumāra* or gentle form of dance dominated by *śṛṅgāra rasa*. It comprised of *lalita karaṇas* and *aṅgahāras* which were graceful and beautiful, such as *talapuṣpapuṭa* etc. That these two dance forms had been firmly established in the Gupta period is evident from the literature and art of the period. In the *Mālavikāgnimitram* (1.4) the *nāṭyācārya* says that "for the sake of this art (*nāṭya*), Śiva caused

the left side of his body to become feminine," i.e. he divided himself into two. In the conception of Śiva dividing himself into two, the idea of the two categories of dance—*tāṇḍava* and *lāsya* is inherent. The *Vikramorvaśīyam* (2.17) refers to the *lalitābhinaya prayoga*. The *Amarakośa* (1,7,10) too, mentions *tāṇḍava* and *lāsya* as two distinct styles of dance. The dance scenes of Gupta art seem to have been typified into *sukumāra* or *lāsya* on the one hand and *tāṇḍava* on the other. We find examples of both the types of dance in the sculptures of this period. This is true specially of the later Gupta period in Ajanta and Ellora where we find the various *tāṇḍava* poses of Śiva. With the cave temples at Ellora, Elephanta and Ajanta begins a new era in the history of Indian sculpture. Amongst the dance scenes in these temples, the important feature to be noticed is the emergence of the fulfledged image of the dancing Śiva.

Classical Indian dance has hitherto generally been discussed under the two aspects of *tāṇḍava*[1] and *lāsya*.[2] However, there is a distinct third form viz. *piṇḍibandha* mentioned in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* of the sage Bharata.

The origin of the *piṇḍibandha* dance form has been described thus in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* : While Lord Śiva and his consort Pārvatī were dancing, the formation of *piṇḍīs* was observed by the troupes of Śiva viz. Nandi, Bhadramukha etc. and they created the *piṇḍibandhas* with their distinct characteristics.[3] Abhinavagupta, the foremost commentator of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, explains *piṇḍibandha* as being created by the simultaneous combination of *asukumāra* (vigorous) and *sukumāra* (gentle), i.e. *tāṇḍava* and *lāsya nṛttas* (dances) respectively.[4]

The term *piṇḍibandha* is explained in the text as *piṇḍīnāṁ bandha* i.e. formation of *piṇḍīs*. The fundamental question, therefore, is, what is this *piṇḍī*? *Piṇḍīs* are said to represent well marked emblems (weapons, vehicles, flags, etc.) of various gods.[5] Bharata clearly says that *piṇḍīs* are named either after the gods themselves or their emblems. He has enumerated the *piṇḍīs* of the different gods.[6]

Abhinavagupta states that *piṇḍibandha* is a complex formation using three elements viz. *ādhāra*, *aṅga* and *prayoga*.[7] The term *ādhāra* wolud mean basis, i.e. the basis of representation itself. The representation of the emblems of the different deities was apparently done within a framework of cosmic symbolism. Thus, it was limited not only to the emblems, but was perhaps also accompanied with representation of cosmic dimensions of space and time. The

emblems served to symbolise the deities, and cosmic space and time imparted a befitting context to them.[8] The latter are, therefore, known as *ādhāra* or basic constituents and are ten in number. These are the seven worlds, and time with its three divisions of past, present and future. The medium of representation consists of the seven limbs or *aṅgas* which are two hands, two feet, two eyes and the head. *Prayoga* or rendering is the third constituent and is of four types. It could be executed by one or many dances, either uniformly or in a diversity of ways.[9]

Now, coming to the point of the rendering itself, the question that arises is, how were these *piṇḍīs* to be actually exhibited in dance? This is answered by Abhinavagupta. Each god had his *piṇḍi* which was to be formed by making the body take the shape of that *karaṇa*[10] or *aṅgahāra*[11] that was able, by its name or form to symbolise (by representing the emblem or cosmic symbolism) the deity concerned.[12] For example, the *piṇḍī* of lord Viṣṇu is Tārkṣya i.e. Garuḍa. Hence, this is to be shown by forming the *garuḍa plutaka karaṇa*. The *piṇḍī* of Jāhnavī or Gaṅgā is *dhārā*, so that is to be displayed by the *gaṅgāvataraṇa karaṇa*. The *sarpa* or snake *piṇḍī* is indicated by the *nāgāsarpita karaṇa*. The showing of the body like a trident symbolizes the *piṇḍī* of Śiva. Similarly, *śikhipiṇḍi* is said to be indicated by *mayūralalita karaṇa. Karaṇas* like *viṣṇukrānta*, *cakramaṇḍala*, etc. indicate the *piṇḍīs* of Viṣṇu. The *niśumbhita karaṇa* is said to please Śiva and the *talapuṣpapuṭa karaṇa* is for appeasing Pārvatī.[13]

Four styles of rendering the *piṇḍībandha* dance have been described in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, viz. *piṇḍī*, *śṛṅkhalikā*, *latābandha*, and *bhedyaka* [14] Bharata says that from the term *piṇḍa* is derived *piṇḍibandha*, *śṛṅkhalā* betokens a *gulma* or cluster, the *latābandha* suggests a net or *jāla* formation and *bhedyaka* is with dance.[15] Abhinavagupta says that the *piṇḍi*, *śṛṅkhalikā*, *latābandha* and *bhedyaka* were executed by one, two, three, and four dances and were connected with the *kaniṣṭha*, *layāntara*, *madhyama* and *jyeṣṭha āsāritas* respectively.[16]

According to M.M. Ghosa[17] and Dr. Kapila Vatsyayana[18] the *śṛṅkhalā* was a chain formation. This can be readily accepted. It makes it easy to understand how the *śṛṅkhalā* (a chain formation) perhaps formed a circle, and such concentric circles would give the appearance of a closed cluster. *Latābandha* is the form where the dancers put their arms around each other.[19] Bharata says that it had a *jāla* or net formation, perhaps, the dancers, with arms round each other stood in such a position in horizontal rows bisected by

vertical rows, giving the impression of a net. *Bhedyaka* is the form where the group formation is broken up and dancers perform individual movements.[20]

Abhinavagupta has described *sajātīya* (homogeneous) and *vijātīya* (heterogeneous) dancing of *piṇḍibandha.* Of the four modes of rendering (*prayoga*), the first two, executed by one or many dancers, are clear. The latter two, *sama* (uniform) and *viṣama* (multiform) modes, can be connected with the *sajātīya piṇḍibandhas.* Where the different dancers display generically connected *piṇḍis* (e.g. where they show different *piṇḍis* of the same deity), that would be *sajātīya piṇḍıbandha.* Where they exhibit heterogeneous form of *piṇḍis* (*piṇḍis* relating to different deities) that would be *vijātīya piṇḍibandha.* This distinction is to be seen in the *śṛṅkhalā* and *latābandha* styles.[21]

In the *pūrvaraṅga* of a play the *tāṇḍava*, along with the *piṇḍibandha* dance forms, was executed.[22] After the placement of the orchestra, commence the *āsāritas*[23] and *upohana*[24] is rendered. Stringed instruments like *viṇā* and percussion instruments are played. The first dancer enters, assuming a proper pose (*sthāna*), performs the *recakas* (i.e. rotatory movements of waist, hand, and feet) and offering flowers to the gods pays obeisance to them. The basic idea is that initially she is to dance the *paryastaka* (i.e. a sequence of ten *karaṇas*). This has been described as one of the *aṅgahāras.* Percussion instruments are to be played while she performed the *paryastaka* and the *viṇā* was played in a fast tempo. Thus she danced till the conclusion of the first *āsārita*, and with the commencing of the second *āsārita* and *upohana* entered the second dancer The first dancer now performs the *piṇḍibandha*, while the second of the newcomer, the *paryastaka.*[25] With the commencing of the third *āsārita* and *upohana*, enters the third dancer dancing the *paryastaka*, while the first two now perform the *piṇḍibandha.* The same procedure is repeated with the entrance of the fourth dancer during the fourth *āsārita*, and now three dancers execute the *piṇḍibandha.* When the fourth dancer, too, has executed the *paryastaka,* then all four perform the *piṇḍibandha*, and make their final exit from the stage.[26] Thus, four dancers enter with the four *āsāritas.* They enter one by one, perform the *paryastaka*, and on the entrance of the other execute the *piṇḍibandhas* and finally all leave the stage together.

In his commentary, Abhinavagupta mentions a number of *uparūpakas.* These compositions are not dramas in the strict sense of the word, but have more of dance and song. Abhinava terms them as *nṛttātmaka prabandhas—ete prabandhāḥ nṛttātamakāḥ na nāṭyāt-*

makā nāṭakādi-vilakṣaṇāḥ.[27] In fact, such compositions, were later termed *uparūpakas*. He enumerates a number of them. The last two mentioned are *hallisaka* and *rāsaka*, which refer to the *piṇḍibandha* style of dancing. The *rāsaka* has been described by him as containing many *nartakis* or dancers—sixty-four pairs are mentioned containing both *uddhata* (vigorous) and *anuddhata* (gentle) elements.[28] In fact Bhoja in his *Śṛṅgāra Prakāśa* says that *rāsaka* is a group of dance by the *nartakis* executing the patterns of the *piṇḍis* He speaks of sixteen, eighteen or twelve *nartakis* in such *rāsakas*.[29] Similarly, the *Nāṭyarāsaka*, also called *carcari*, the last *uparūpaka* mentioned by Bhoja, also has the *piṇḍibandhas* constructed with *latās*, *bhedyakas* and *gulmas*.[30] This dance, to be performed in spring time is a pure dance of the *piṇḍi*, *bhedyaka* and other group movements and patterns. Initially two *nartakis* enter, strew flowers, dance and exit. Then two others enter, and thus groups are formed which execute the *gulma*, *śṛṅkhalā* etc. There are percussion instruments, accompanied by recital of rhythmic syllables, beating of sticks and songs. Some details of *tāla* are also given by Bhoja. The whole performance is to conclude with a *maṅgala śloka*, which says that *rāsaka* full of *piṇḍi*, *śṛṅkhalā* etc. and danced to the accompaniment of various instruments, was originated by the gods when they danced in joy on getting *amṛta* (nectar) by churning the milky ocean.

Śāradātanaya takes *rāsaka* as being three-fold, viz. *daṇḍarāsaka*, *maṇḍalarāsaka* and *nāṭyarāsaka*. The *Karpūramañjari* of Rājaśekhara describes the *daṇḍarāsaka* as being performed by numerous *nartakis* wheeling round and forming wonderful patterns.[31] In the Sanskrit-Tamil text called the *Śuddhānanda Prakāśa*, the patterns of of *piṇḍibandhas* are said to be formed with hexagonal and octagonal designs—*ṣaṭkaṇairaṣṭakoṇaiśca piṇḍibandhairmanoharaiḥ*.

The *hallisaka* has been described as the form where there were several *nāyikās* and one *nāyaka* and the women danced in circles.[32] We may conclude that *piṇḍibandha* has two aspects corresponding to the two-fold derivation of the word itself. On the one hand, *piṇḍibandhas* meant the constitution of a *piṇḍi* or divine emblem, and stood for a special ritualistic dance used for worship, especially in the worship of goods in the *purvaraṅga*. It abounded in cosmic symbolism. On the other hand, *piṇḍibandha* means the formation of a *piṇḍa* or "lumping" of the dancers together in a cluster. In this sense, *piṇḍibandha* was a group dance, derived from folk origins.[33] This aspect became clearer in the *uparūpakas*, like the *rāsaka* and *hallisaka*. Thus, one aspect of *piṇḍibandha* constituted its earlier

and original phase within the tradition of major drama.[34] The other aspect dominated in the popular or folk dance dramas.

Footnotes

1 In the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, *tāṇḍava* is described as the dance taught to sage Bharata by Taṇḍu at the orders of Lord Śiva. (*NŚ*, B.H.U. ed., 1971, Vol.1, Ch.4).

2 The *lāsya* form of dance is said to be created by the goddess Pārvatī (*NŚ*, 4, 256).

3 *Piṇḍibandhāṁstato dṛṣṭvā Nandibhadramukhā gaṇāḥ / Cakruste nāme piṇḍināṁ bandhamāsāṁ salakṣaṇam//*—*NŚ*, 4, 257. A later work, the *Śṛṅgāra Prakāśa* of Bhoja, says that Brahmā is the author of the *piṇḍibandhas-piṇḍyādyā bramhaṇoṅgajāḥ* (Raghavan, *Śṛ. Pra.*, Vol. II, pp. 425-26).

4 *Dvayaḥ prayoktṛtayā sukumārāsukumāranṛtayoḥ samakālaprayogeṇa piṇḍibandhaniṣpattiṁ sūcayati—Nandibhadramukhā gaṇā iti* (*AB* on *NŚ*, 4, 257).

5 *Evamanyasyāpi tathā devatāsu yathākramaṁ dhvajabhūtāḥ prayoktavyāḥ piṇḍibandhāḥ sucinhitāḥ*, (*NŚ*, 263). Kumbhā described *piṇḍibandha* as having the form of *piṇḍa* and rendered by the imitation of the form of one's chosen deity. *Sa Ceṣṭadevatārūpānukaraṇena smṛto budhaiḥ lāsye cehānukāreṇa vidheyā cavipaścitā piṇḍikāreṇa vijñeyāḥ piṇḍibandhāstadā punaḥ*—Kumbhā as quoted in *Bharatakośa*, p. 886.

6 *NŚ*, 4, 258-62.

7 *Tatraite piṇḍibandhā ādhārāṅgaprayogasādhakatamabhedādbahuprakāraṁ bhidyante* (*AB*, B.H.U. ed , Vol. II, p.401).

8 ………*ādhāre svaupuṣyake ca vividhāṁ sṛṣṭiṁ samāsūtrayan trailokyasthapatistvameva bhagavanviśvākṛtirjṛmbhasi* (Quoted, *ibid.*, p. 402).

9 *Tatra deśaḥ kāla iti ādhāradvyabhedātsapta lokāḥ trayaḥ kālā ityādhārabhedāḥ daśa. Hastau pādau akṣiṇi śira ityaṅgabhedā api saptadaśa. Ekoneko vā prayoktā So'pi samaprayogo viṣamaprayogo veti caturdhākaraṇena. Sampadyate aṅgahārena veti pūrvāṇi caturbhiḥ paścāt saptadaśena ca guṇanādaṣṭādhikacatuḥśatyadhikam dvisahasram pārameśvarāḥ piṇḍibandhāḥ* (*AB*, I, p.401).

10 *Karaṇa* is a sequence of dance movements culminating in a pose.

11 *Aṅgahāra* is sequence of *karaṇas*.

12 *Piṇḍi ādhārāṅgādisaṁghataḥ tayā bādhvate buddhau praveśyate tanubhāvena sakalāya vā vyomādirūpāyeti piṇḍibandha ākṛtiviśeṣaḥ* ………*Ākāro badhyate sampadyate punaraneneti piṇḍibandhaḥ karaṇāṅgahārādiḥ* (*Ibid.*, p. 403; cf. *Tāṇḍavalakṣaṇam*, Appendix F).

13 ....*talapuṣpapuṭa-karaṇena karmaviśeṣasūcakena Bhagavatyaḥ paritoṣaḥ, 'Nikuṭṭitau yadā hastau' ityanena triśūla-kṛtiryā kāyasampattiḥ. Garuḍaplutakena tārkṣyākaragatisūcanam. Gaṅgāvatareṇa dhārāpiṇḍi, Nāgāpasarpitena bhogipiṇḍi. 'Prasāryotkṣipya ca karau' ityaṅgahāreṇa ākāriyabhasmatriśūlaśivaliṅgādipiṇḍiniṣpattiḥ* (*ibid.*, p.405). *Piṇḍibandhagrahaṇena śikhipiṇḍaprabhṛtyupayamayuralalitādikaraṇasaṁgrahāḥ,*.... *Yathā Viṣṇukrāntasya Cakramaṇḍalasya ca vaiṣṇavakrīḍāsūcakasya saḥ* (*ibid.*, p. 406).

14 *Piṇḍināṁ vidhayaścaiva catvāraḥ samprakīrtitāḥ/ Piṇḍi śṛṅkhalikā caiva latābandho' tha bhedyakaḥ//*—(*NŚ*, 4, 292).

15 *Piṇḍibandhastu piṇḍatavāt gulmaḥ śṛṅkhalikā bhavet/ Jālopanaddhā ca latā sanṛtto bhedyakaḥ smṛtaḥ//*—*NŚ*, 4, 293.

16 *Tatra viśeṣāntararhitaṁ kṛdyamekaprayojyam piṇḍibandharūpamityekaḥ prakāroviśeṣanāmadhyeavirahātsāmānyaśabdenoktaḥ. Tadāha-ekanālāvabaddhakamalayugalavat vijātīyo vā haṁsavadanaparigṛhītanālanalinavat, gulmaḥ śṛṅkhalikāśabdavācyoḥ. Nartakītrayaprayojyāstu tato' pivaicitryasahiṣṇutvājjālavadivicitratāṁ gacchatpūrvatsajātīyavijātīyātmalatābandhaḥ. Nartakīcatuṣṭayaprayojyāstu*....*jñāto bhedyakaḥ* (*AB*, Vol.I, pp. 462-3). "They are done by one or more *nartakīs*....That done by one is a simple *piṇḍi*. The pattern executed by two looks like two lotuses on a stalk, or a swan holding by its beak a lotus stalk with the lotus. This *piṇḍī* by two is called a *gulma śṛṅkhalikā*, the pattern formed by three is *jāla*, by four *latābandha*."—Raghavan, V., Bhoja's *Śṛṅgāra Prakāśa*, p. 588.

Piṇḍibandhaḥ kaniṣṭhe tu śṛṅkhalā tu layāntare/ Madhyame ca latābandhaḥ jyeṣṭhe caivātha bhedyakaḥ//—*NŚ.*, 4. 294. For meaning of *āsārita* see fn. 26.

Ekā tu prathamaṁ yojyā dve dvitīyaṁ tathaiva ca/
Tisro vastu tṛtīyam tu caturastu caturthakam//—*NŚ*, 4, 291.

17 "Of these the *gulma* is a general collective dance, the *śṛṅkhalā* is the dance in which partners hold one another's hands, the *latā* is the dance of two putting their arms around each other, and *bhedyaka* is the dance of each one separately away from the group." Ghose, M.M. (tr.), *Nāṭyaśāstra*, p.71.

18 Vatsyayana, K., *Classical Indian Dance in Literature and the Arts*, p. 34.

19 *L.c.*

20 *L.c.*

21 For *sajātīya* and *vijātiya piṇḍibandhas* see fn. 17.

22 *NŚ*, 4, 276.94.

23 *Āsāritam gītam*, Kavi, Ram Krishna, *Bharatakośa*, p. 64. *Āsārita*

is a kind of music in many parts and with a fixed and elaborate *tāla* or beat structure for each part. Its parts *mukha*, *pratimukha*, *deha* and *saṁharaṇa* were compared with *udgītha*, *prastāra*, *pratihāra* and *nidhāna* respectively of *Sāman* singing and some compare a further *āsārita* component, the *śirṣaka* with the Sāmic part called *upadrava*—*L.c.* Four *āsāritas* with different *tāla*-structures have been described in connection of *piṇḍibandhas* (*NŚ*, 31,77.). The connection of *piṇḍibandha* with *āsārita* is mentioned elsewhere too—*Prayogastu yadā tveṣāṁ piṇḍibandhairvikalapate/pratyekaṁhyaṅgavinyāsastadā teṣāṁ pṛthakpṛthak//*—*NŚ*, GOS ed. 31, 778. These are in order the *kaniṣṭha*, *layāntara*, *madhyama* and *jyeṣṭha* respectively. These were distinguished by the number of beats they required.

24 *Upohana* was rendered in the first few initial *kalās* or beats of the *mukha* part of the *āsārita*. (*NŚ*, Gaekwad Oriental Series ed., 31, 79).

25 *Prayujya gītavādye tu niṣkrameṇa nartakī tataḥ/ anenaiva vidhānena praviśantyaprāḥ pṛthak//*—*NŚ*, 4, 283. *Anyāścānukrameṇātha piṇḍim badhnanti yāḥ striyaḥ tāvataparyastakaḥ kāryo yāvatpiṇḍi na badhyate* (*NŚ*. 4, 284). Abhinava explains that *niṣkrāma* here does not mean that the dancer will totally leave the stage, but simply that she will follow another. *Sā niṣkrāmedapasaret, natu sarvathaiva nirgacchet.*

26 *Tathā hi-ekaṁ tu prathamamityatra prathamāsāritamabhinayati. Toto Dvitīyā dvitīyāsāritam. Tatsamakālamtu prathamā keva'maṅgahāram karotīti. Evam tṛtīyāsāritarthambhinayati. Tadā dve aṅgahāram prayuñjate. Caturthī caturthāsāritabhināyaṁ yadā karoti tisr' oṅgahāram rañjayanti anye tvabhinayaprayoge pi sahitatāmmāhuḥ*—*AB on NŚ* 4, 294.

27 *AB*, B.H.U. ed , Vol I, pp. 435-37.

28 *Anekanartakīyojyam citralālalavānvitam ā catuṣṣaṣṭhiyugālādrāsakaṁ masrṇoddhatam* (*ibid.*, p. 437). It may be noted that *piṇḍibandha* arose out of *sukumāra* and *asukumāra nṛttas*.

29 *Ṣoḍaṣadvādaś' aṣṭau vā yasminnṛtyanti nāyikāpiṇḍibandhādivinyāsaiḥ rāsakaṁ tadudāhṛtam*—Bhoja, *Śṛṅgāra Prakāśa*, Vol. I, pp. 425.

30 *Latākyhabhedyakaiḥ gulmaiḥ nānāpravṛttapradarśakaiḥ pātraireka-tva-saṁyuktam piṇḍibandham tu kārayeta.*—*ibid.*, p. 427

31 *Paribhramantyaḥ vicitrabandhaiḥ ima dviśo' sanartakyaḥ khelanti tālānugatapādāḥ tavaṅge dṛśyate daṇḍarāsaḥ* (*Karpūramañjarī*, 4,10).

32 *Maṇḍalena tu yannṛttam hallisakamiti smṛtam ekastatra tu netā*

syādgopastrīṇāmyathāhariḥ (*AB*, Vol I, p.437)

33 It should be remembered that folk culture, while full of creativity, is not *per se* standardised. While standard forms are created out of it, in itself the folk tradition varies continuously. The relationship of the dialects to the standard language, illustrates the relationship of folk forms to classical forms in arts.

34 The use of *piṇḍibandha* in the *pūrvaraṅga* appears to have become obscure by the time of Abhinava, although he clearly knew the practice. It is possible that it had fallen out of use in the dramatic tradition but continued in the folk tradition. This is suggested by the following lines—
Nanu sarvo'yam piṇḍibandhaprakāra ihopahogī vāna vetyāsaṅkyaho.........na cāyaṁ piṇḍibandhaprakāralakṣye vicchinnaḥ kevalamṛttṛṇa-kakṣayaḥ—patitamahauṣadhivad anavasthitairabhyudhartuṁ na śakyate sāvadhānatayā tu śakyata eveti nātrālasyam śrayitavyam. Anyathā katham prayogamāhuḥ (*AB* on *NŚ*, 295).

Chapter 12

Historical Evolution of Music

Abhinavagupta states that "out of sāman arose *gāndharva* and out of *gāndharva* arose *gāna*."[1] The word *gāndharva* sometimes stood for music in general, but also had the technical sense of a particular system of music. Thus says Abhinava : "It is to be noticed that just as the word *nāṭaka*, so the word *gāndharva* is used in two senses; in popular usage, as well as in the *Śāstra*. It is sometimes used in a general and sometimes in a special sense.... If mere singing was *gāndharva*, then the singing of children, cowherds, cranes, herons, etc. would also be termed *gāndharva*."[2] The idea here is that, *gāndharva* sometimes connotes music in general, but it also has a special sense in which it is distinct from other types of music. It is invariably in this special sense that the word *gāndharva* occurs in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*.

What was the nature and purpose of *gāndharva* ? *Gāndharva* may be understood as the classical music of Bharata's time—elaborate, complex and governed by rigid rules—*gāndharva tajjñeyam svaratālapadātmakam*[3] i.e. *gāndharva* consists of *svara*, *tāla* and *pada*. *Svara* is here related to the elements of both the *śārirī viṇā* (i.e. the human throat or vocal music) and the *dāravī viṇā* (i.e. the wooden lute or harp).[4] This parallel between the human body and the wooden *viṇā* is quite frequent in the *NŚ*. Thirteen constituent elements are related to *savra* viz, *svara*, *grāma*, *mūrchanā*, *tāna*, *sthāna*, *vṛtti*, *śuṣka*, *sādhāraṇa*, *varṇa*, *alaṁkāra*, *dhātu*, *śruti* and *jāti*.[5] All these pertained to the *dāravī viṇā*, but only seven related to the *śārirī* viz, *svara*, *grāma*, *alaṁkāra*, *varṇa*, *sthāna*, *jāti* and *sādhāraṇa*.[6]

The distinctive feature of *gāndharva* music was its elaborate patterns of *tāla* or time-measure. Even the basic unit for measuring time consisted of not less than five short *mātrās* (termed *kalā*). Twenty-one basic elements related to *tāla* viz. *dhruvā*, *āvāpa*, *niṣkrāma*, *vikṣepa*, *praveśana*, *śamyā*, *tāla*, *sannipāta*, *parivarta*, *mātrā*, *vastu*, *prakaraṇa*, *aṅga*, *vidāri*, *pāṇi*, *yati*, *laya*, *giti*, *avayava*, *mārga* and *pādamārga*.[7] *Pada* or the words of the song had a subsidiary role in *gāndharva*. *Pada* served only as a prop for *svara* and *tāla*. Indeed, the musician would often distort the words by stretching or splitting them and by singing only a particular syllable. *Svara* and

tāla are primary (*svaratālanubhāvakam*),[8] *pada* is useful only in so far as it forms the base.[9] This tendency was perhaps inherited from *sāman* singing. The *sāman* singers did not attach much importance to the intelligibility of the hymns, but distorted the words freely. This was done in six ways viz. *vikāra*, *viśleṣaṇa vikarṣaṇa*, *abhyāsa*, *virāma*, and *stobha*.[10] In the present-day classical music, too, it is *svara* and *tāla* that are necessary only so far as they help develop the *svarālāpa*, which is in turn fundamental for the unfoldment of the structure of the *rāga*. The exigencies of *svara* aad *tāla* often cause the word to be quite distorted. Dattila adds a fourth factor to the definition of *gāndharva* viz. *avadhāna*.[11] Bharata has ignored *avadhāna*. Abhinava, apparently to justify Bharata, says, "*avadhāna* is *yogarūpam* (the nature of meditation) and hence is not applicable here."[12] The word *avadhāna*, it seems, stood for a meditative idea, a certain psychic concentration and attitude required for the proper singing of *gāndharva*.

Bharata states that *gāndharva* music was exceedingly dear to the gods (*atyarthamiṣṭaṁ devānām*).[13] The singing of *gāndharva* was, in fact, treated as a *yajña* or sacrifice by means of which the goods were appeased and by which transcendental merits accrued to the performer. Abhinava, giving a detailed interpretation of this verse, says: "Now, the gods govern the senses, the mind, sensations etc. These senses etc. function when impacted or vibrated and are like celestial musical instruments by offering the external objects such as sound etc., and through their transcendenc (in pure apperception) one achieves a transcendent sacrifice (*atyarthamiṣṭam*). It leads to the atainment of supreme inward beatiffic consciousness (*parasaṁvit*).* In this way is illustrated the attainment of the fruit of emancipation, since the experience thus attained approximates the blissful state proper to emancipation. Thus this is a sacrifice of the gods (*devānām yajanam*) which is transcendent and independent of wealth etc. As has been said, Śiva is more pleased by *gāndharva*, then by ancient ascetic practices etc. (or, by the recitation of purāṇas and ascetic practices; or, by devotion to *purāṇas* ...*purāṇayogādibhiḥ*)".

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* Abhinava interprets '*atyarthamiṣṭam*' not as 'excessively desired' but as 'transcendentally sacrificed'. The offering in the sacrifice would consist of sense objects, such a musical sounds, spectacles etc. When something is offered through the fire it is sublated. Nevertheless there is a transcendent effect, both for the gods as well as for the one who is performing the sacrifice. Similarly here too, the offering of musical sounds etc. is likened to a sacrifice producing transcendent effect. Cf. Kālidāsa who terms dance as a 'visual sacrifice' in the *Mālavikāgnimitram*.

" '*Of gāndharvas*' in the text indicates the performers. Thus the singer obtains the result by attaining to a deep immersion in consciousness (*saṁvit*). So it has been said that Nandayanti (*jāti*) performed even once in accordance with prescriptions, purifies the slayer of Brāhmaṇa. Thus, the result accruing to the performer is primary."[14]

As already mentioned, according to Abhinava, from *sāman* came *gāndharva*. The *gāndharva* form was apparently intermediate between later *sāman* forms and the *gāna* from of music (theatre singing) described in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. Verse 10 of Chapter 28 describes the origin of *gāndharva* thus—*asya yonirbhavedgānaṁ viṇā vaṁśastathaiva ca, eteṣāṁ caiva vakṣyāmi vidhiṁ svarasamutthitam.*[15] Abhinava comments saying that "song or *gāna* here is the name applied to the *gītis* or songs which are the matrix of *sāman* (i.e., it does not indicate *dhruvā gāna*.) *Viṇā* means the *audumbarī viṇā* used in Mahāvrata (ceremony). *Vaṁśa* is in accordance with the tradition of teachers like Nārada. These constitute the source of *gāndharva*." Again "Some others say that the intention of the verse is to make out the source of *gāndharva* to be the songs sung by singers in the popular social stream (*lokapravāha*) within the *brahmagīta*. The commentator (*ṭīkākāra*) holds that *gāna* is primary while the lute and flute are secondary."[16] The mention of a popular tradition of songs within the *brahmagīta* is highly intriguing. Actually, it must be remembered that rites and festivals must have been concurrent in the remote past as they are now with the result that there would be a kind of culture counterpoint in the folk singing of the festival to the ritualistic and formal singing of the *sāman*. The mention by Abhinava of the *audumbarī* used in Mahāvrata ceremony is significant and connotes folk influence. In fact percussion music, too, it seems was the offspring of the popular percussion music of the Vedic times. Percussion music was then incorporated into the *gāndharva* form, wherein it was developed and elaborated into complex *tāla* structures. It may be noted that *sāman* chanting shows no evidence of *tāla*. Thus, though *sāman* music must have given the basic structure (the formal, rigid, ritualistic aspect) to *gāndharva*, folk music too, must have helped its development.

From *gāndharva* was born *gāna*. Generally speaking the word *gāna* means 'song', but the reference here is to a special type of singing—the singing of *dhruvās* (songs connected with the theatre), *dhruvāgāna*. This was the music played in the background during the staging of ancient dramas. Abhinava distinguishes carefully between the *gāndharva* form of music and the *gāna* system. In fact,

the entire commentary on the thirty-third Chapter of the *NŚ* is devoted to distinguishing between *gāndharva* and *gāna*. *Gāndharva* was essentially the musician's music, while the purpose of *gāna* was *rakti* or pleasure, the pleasure it gave to the audience watching the drama. Freed from traditional and ritualistic restrictions it developed into a great variety.

On the basis of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* itself, however, we can say that the tradition of *dhruvā-gāna* was an ancient one. Abhinava often mentions an ancient authority by the name of Kaśyapa in connection with *dhruvās*. In an interesting passage, Abhinava says "Nārada etc, who were educated in *gāndharva*, when they wished to *gānayoga* and wanted to establish the *dhruvā* on the basis of *gāndharva*, said that this new complex which is useful for enjoyment is not produced by us by our own inventiveness nor perceived in the original (i.e., in the *gāndharva*) but it follows the authority of tradition."[17] Here, Abhinava attributes *dhruvā-gāna* to Nārada etc., but says that since they wanted to establish *dhruvā* on a firm basis they derived it from the tradition. The *Nāradīyaśikṣā*, as available now, however, deals only with *gāndharva* music, and does not say anything about *dhruvā-gāna*. It is possible that this portion might have been lost. Bharata has devoted one complete chapter for the discussion of *dhruvā-gāna* (Chapter 32, GOS edition). Abhinavagupta has brought out the distinction between the *gāndharva* and *gāna* systems.

The fundamental distinction was that *gāndharva* was ritualistic music resulting in *adṛṣṭa-phala* or transcendental merit, whereas *dhruvā-gāna* was music for the theatre, outside which it would not serve much purpose. Thus, Abhinava states—*na hi nāṭyādbahirlayabhaṅgayāpi dhruvāgānaṁ gīyamānamukha* ? (*ṁsukha*)* *pādamutpādayati.*[18] *Gāna* had a *dṛṣṭa-phala*, which was to produce *rasa*, thereby producing *rakti*, i.e. giving pleasure to the audience—*rāgamiti raktirdṛṣṭaphalam*,[19] says Abhinava. Though *gāndharva* is the source of *gāna*, which draws all its essential elements from the former, *tāla* from the *saptarūpa*, its melodic forms from the *jātis*, yet there is quite a difference between the two systems. This is because they are designed to serve different purposes. *Dhruvā* is a purposive transformation of the *gāndharva* to produce music for the theatre. Being free from rituals it is innovative and produces *rasa* and thus gives pleasure or *rañjana*. Abhinava says that from the *gītakas*, which lay emphasis on *adṛṣṭa*, certain elements are culled and synthe-

* As *utpād. yati* requires an object, an emendation is suggested in the bracket.

sized so as to be able to please through *rasa* and *bhāva*. Thus *dhruvā* as a transformation of elements drawn from *gāndharva* has the purpose of furthering the dramatic effect of *rasa* [20] According to Bharata "*Dhruvā* is so called because the *varṇa, alaṅkāras, yati, pāṇi* and *laya* in it are hormoniously fixed."[21] Four types of *dhruvās* have been enumerated by Bharata viz, *prāveśikī, ākṣepikī, antarā* and *niṣkrāmikī.*[22] The *dhruvās* suggested acts and moods of different characters in a play; and this was suggested by the contents of the songs, as well as their metre, language, tempo and *tāla*. Particular kinds of *dhruvās* were to be rendered on particular junctures and occasions on stage. Themes of various *rasas* sung at the entrance of the characters on stage were termed *prāveśikī dhruvās.*[23] The exit of characrters is indicated through *naiṣkrāmikī dhruvās*.[24] If there was a sudden disturbance in the prevailing *rasa* (*prastutaṁ rasam*, *AB* on *NŚ*, 32.313) of the scene by imposition then a new element, the *ākṣepikī dhruvā*, was employed.[25] The prevailing sentiment or *rasa* which had been disturbed by sudden intervention (*ākṣeparasāt, NŚ*, 39.313) is once again purified ···*prastutaṁ rasaviśeṣaṁ yadā prasādayati nirmalikaroti*" (*AB* on *NŚ*, 32·314) and stabilised (*ākṣepavaśāt sthirikaraṇārthatvādit—l.c*.) by *prāsādikī dhruvā*. It helps to restore the absorbed interest of the spectators, producing pleasure and hence was known as *prāsādikī* (...*sāmājikahṛdayaṁ tanmayibhāvapattiyogyātmano janānāmiti gītaśobhayā vā prasādayojanāḥ—l.c*.). This was invariably after the *prāveśikī* and *ākṣepikī dhruvās*, says Abhinava (*iyaṁ hi prāveśikyāk'ṣepikyā anantaramavaśyaprayojyābhavati —AB* on *NŚ*, 32.314). The *antarā dhruvā* was sung to cover up *a* fault or mistake by the actor during the actual enacting of a play.[26] It seems that sometimes when the actor was disturbed due to exertion or some confusion and committed a mistake, then the *antarā dhruvā* was sung to give time to the actor to regain his composure, adjust his costume etc.[27]

Abhinava has given us historical examples of the application of these *dhruvās* in various plays of the times He mentions the play *Ratnāvalī* of Harṣa where the *prāveśikī dhruvā* has been used. Commenting on verse 10 of Ch. 32, Abhinava says, "In all *prāveśikīs pravṛtta* and *upavṛtta* are to be used, says Bharata. The idea is that the tempo or *laya* has to be matched with the flow of feelings." In *Ratnāvalī*, Sāgarikā's mental state is full of eagerness and agitation because of imaginary meeting with her lover, and consequently it is a theme for quick movement or fast tempo (*cittadrutalaya*).[28] In some cases, the entrance of characters was not to be accompanied by the *prāveśikī dhruvā*, for instance when the character entered

singing, crying, in agitation, in a state of shock etc.[29] Abhinava gives the example of such a *dhruvāśūnya* entrance (entrance precluding the *prāveśikī dhruvā*) in the play *Nāgānanda*—"A case where there is entrance without *dhruvā*. Even in the case of the leading character there is no *dhruvā*, when he is entering in a state of flurry and agitation. Just as Śaṅkhacūḍa, in approaching Garuḍa, who is keen to eat Jīmūtavāhana."[30]

An example of the *ākṣepikī dhruvā* is given by Abhinava from the play *Udāttarāghava*. Rāma is the hero and the scene is of *śṛṅgāra*. Suddenly, Rāvaṇa in a state of fury, enters the scene and angrily addresses Rāma. This change of the aesthetic mood from one of love to one of fury and anger is the juncture for the *ākṣepikī dhruvā* and here the tempo befitting the change is a fast one. Another example of the *ākṣepikī* is illustrated in the third Act of the play *Veṇisaṁhāra*. The scene is of the *Mahābhārata* battle and an enthusiastic Aśvatthāman is eager to vanquish his enemies. Suddenly, the death of his father Droṇa is reported and the mood changes to one of pathos. In this change of *rasa* from *vīra* to *karuṇa* the *ākṣepikī dhruvā* is to be rendered with a slow tempo.[31] The *Kuṭṭinīmatam* of Dāmodaragupta (8th cent. A.D.) has an interesting reference of a contemporary performance of the first act of Harṣa's *Ratnāvalī*. After all the instruments had been properly timed, the performance began with the playing of the flute, and the *prāveśikī dhruvā* was rendered as a *dvipada* in the *rāga bhinnapañcama*.[32] Then the Sūtradhāra, entering, danced round the stage to the accompaniment of a *dhruvā* set to the proper *tāla*. Next was the *prastāvanā*, the dialogue between the Sūtradhāra and his wife, the Naṭī. Thereupon, the two made their exit by the *niḥsaraṇa gīta* with the appropriate *dhruvā*, probably the *niṣkrāmikī*. At the conclusion of the act, the hero, king Udayana, and other characters made their exit also with the *niṣkrāmikī dhruvā*.[33] The *dhruvās* were set to musical forms such as *grāma rāgas*, *rāgas*, *bhāṣā*, *vibhāṣā* etc. Abhinava explains that these musical forms were derived from the melodic structures of *gāndharva*, i.e. the *jātis*.

The two systems were distinct in respect of all three musical elements, viz. *svara*, *pada* and *tāla*. In *gāndharva*, the maximum permissible notes were nine—the seven primary notes, and two sharp notes which, however, were sparingly used. In *gāna*, a variety of notes was permitted.

Tāla in *gāndharva* was played on *ghana* or idiophonic instruments which consisted of cymbals, generally of bronze.[34] Abhinava says : "*ghana* is so called because of the hardness of its form. Due

to this hardness, *ghana* instruments cannot play specific *varṇas* expressive of different *rasas* or *bhāvas*. *Tāla* (of *ghana*) is used only for establishing *śamyā*.[35] *Śamyā* indicated neutral 'balance' or 'equipoise' between *tāla* and *svara* structures. Again, he says : "*ghana vādya* can produce only a single monotonous sound, unvaried in nature and is used only to keep the measure in a *tāla* by sounding at right intervals."[36] It could not be used for expressive playing as in *avanaddha* instruments. *Tāla* in *dhruvā gāna* was played on *avanaddha* instruments. These membranophonic drums were capable of expressing a wide variety of *varṇas* or '*bols*'. These drums, through the pliancy and resulting inflections of the taut skin on which they are played, produce a number of notes at different pitches as well as a wide variety of different expressive sounds.[37]

As regards *pada*, it was the primary element in *gāna*; *svara* and *tāla* being subservient to it. Thus Abhinava says, "In *gāndharva*, *svara* and *tāla* are primary. *Pada* is used only as a basis or support for the other two. In the *dhruvā*, on the other hand, words and meanings are primary."[38] Again, he says : "Thus, in *gāndharva*, *svara* is predominant, *pada* is secondary and (acts) as a prop. In contrast, in *gāna*, *pada* is primary as it expresses the meaning (of the song) and *svara* is secondary as (its role is) only to beautify the *pada*."[39]

The *Nāṭyaśāstra* of Bharata deals with only the *gāndharva* and *gāna* systems of music. However, the history of Indian music does not end here. Till about the 13th century, when Śārṅgadeva wrote his *Saṅgītaratnākara*, Indian music grew through a continuous process of popularization and standardization. There was a continuous effort to retain ancient conventions and also to bring *lakṣana* and *lakṣya* together. In the course of time, with the efflorescene of *gāna* and its musicological elaboration, a difference came to be perceived between the classical and the regional or folk dimensions of music. On the basis of texts like *Bṛhaddeśī* and *Saṅgītaratnākara*, Dr. Lath has rightly pointed out that this distinction was termed *mārga* and *deśī* which may be roughly rendered as classical and popular.[40] '*Mārga*', according to Mātaṅga, is the name for *deśī* forms, albeit of those which were comparatively more regulated or rule-bound than the others. By Śārṅgadeva's time, the notions of *mārga* and *deśī* seem to have undergone development. For him, *mārga* and *deśī* signified two distinct forms of music and he distinguishes between them on the lines of *gāndharva* and *gāna* of the *NŚ*. Compared to *gāndharva*, the *gāna* system of music appeared relatively popular, but in the course of time, within the *gāna* system too, a distinction

was made between the comparatively regulated and standardized singing on the one hand and free improvization on the other, which led to the evolution of the *rāgarāgiṇī* system of later times.

Summing up, it can be stated that the history of Indian music reflects fully the dialectic common in the history of art of continuing conflict and resolution between convention and innovation, tradition and creation.

Footnotes

1 *Gāndharvam hi sāmabhyastasmādbhavam gānam* (*AB* on *NŚ*, 28.2).
2 *AB* on *NŚ*, 33.1
3 *NŚ*. 28 8.
4 *Dvayadhiṣṭhānāḥ svarā varṇāḥ śarīrāśca prakīrtitāḥ*. (*NŚ*, 28.12).
5 *Ibid.*, 28. 13-14.
6 *Ibid.*, 28.15.
7 *Ibid.*, 28. 18-20
8 *Ibid.*, 32.27.
9 *L.c.*
10 *Vikāra* : simple distortion of word.
Viśleṣaṇa : splitting of the syllables of the word and singing individual syllables.
Vikarṣaṇa : changing the quantity of *mātrās*.
Abhyāsa : a sudden break in the *pada* and repetition.
Virāma : pause.
Stobha : addition of new but quite meaningless syllables.
11 *Padasthasvarasaṅghātastālena sumitastathā prayuktaścāvadhānena gāndharvamabhidhīyate.—Dattilam*, 3.
12 *AB* on *NŚ*, 28. 11-12.
13 *NŚ*, 28.9.
14 *Yasmāt yadrupacca devānāmīśvarāṇāmindriyamanas saṁvedanaprabhṛtināṁ, ātodyamānatvena vyavahāreṇa gacchatāneneti devavādyānām atyarthamarthātikrameṇa bāhya-śabdadiviṣayollaṅghanena ....miṣṭimicchāyajanam ca parasaṁvisamgatılābhalakṣaṇam tatha tena prakāreṇa pratiterapavargacitānandasvabhāvaviśeṣeṇavarjitam-ityapavargaphalarvamdarśitam. Tathātikrāntam dhanadinirapekṣam cedam devānām yajanam yathā purāṇayogādibhyo' dhikā pritirgāndharvācchankarasyeti, "Gāndharvanamiti" prayoktṛ upalakṣaṇam tena hyatyanatam saṁvitpraveśalābhena tu gatuḥ phalayogo gāndharvatvāt. Tadāhasakṛt prayuktāpi hi nandayanti'yathāvidhi brāhmahanam punāti, iti prayoktṛgatamatra mukhyam phalam—AB* on *NŚ*, 28. 9-10.
15 *NŚ*, 28.10.

16 *Gānamiti sāmayanigītiṣu sāmākhyā, vīṇeti mahāvratopayoginī audumbariḥ vaṁśa iti nāradādigurusaṁtānanuyāyiti gāndharvasya prabhavaḥ.* (*AB* on *NŚ*, 29. 9-10).

17 *Gāndharvasaṁkṛtānāradādyā* (*Nāradīyaśikṣā*, 1.2) : *gānayogam* (*ga*) *cikirṣvastasya gāndharvaprakṛtitvena vyavasthāpayanto bhogopayoginamuktapūrvasaṁhāgtam nāyamasmābhiḥ svamaniṣikārkṛtaḥ kiṁtu prakṛtāvapi na dṛṣṭa ityāgamapramāṇyenopodbalayannā* (*nta a*) *gamānurasa* (*nusarī*) *hi dṛṣṭaphalamapi bhojanādi prāṇāḥ* (*nayama*) *sandhyādyā ityāgamanusandhānenopabṛṁhayanti.* (*AB* on *NŚ*, 32. 4-6).

18 *NŚ*, 33.1.

19 *Ibid.*, 28.36. Cf. *rañjanā janacittānām sa ca rāga udahṛtaḥ—Bṛhaddeśī*, 281.

20 *AB* on *NŚ*, 32.3.

21 *NŚ*, 32.8 : *dhruvām anyonyasambaddhāḥ.*

22 *Ibid.*, 32.310; also *ibid.*, 6. 29-30.

23 *Ibid.*, 32.311

24 *Ibid.*, 32.312

25 *Ibid.*, 32 313

26 *Ibid.*, 32.315.

27 *Anukarturyadanāśaṁkitadhanaviṣayādatyuddhataprayogaśrama vaśādvā bhramādidoṣasambhāvanā. Vastrābharaṇāvakāśāditsayā* (*yā*) *gīyate sāntarā dhruvā*—*AB* on *NŚ*, 32.315.

28 *Atimagnacittavṛtterapi Sāgarikāyā manorathakalpitapriyatamasamāgamālāpādevautsukyapravṛttasvaraviṣayostyeva* (*Ratnāvalī*). *Tathā cittadrutalayatr* (*t tu*) *prāyastrayṁśakam* (?) *prayuñjate. AB* on *NŚ*, 32.10.

29 *NŚ*, 32.327.

30 *Śaṁkhacūḍasyeva Jīmūtavāhanabhakṣaṇākulagaruḍanikaṭamupasarpataḥ* (*Nāgānandam*, 5.17). *AB* on *NŚ*, 32.327.

31 *Yathā Udāttarāghave rāmasya prastutaśṛṅgārakramollaṁghanena—'Are tāpasa sthiri* (*ro*) *bhāva. Kvedānim gamyate. Svasurmama parābhavaprasava ekadattavyatha'. Ityādinā rāvaṇavākyena. Yathā* (*druta*) *rākyākaraṇena vīrarasasyākṣepyasya tu rasasya māsrṇye 'sthite' vilambitā. Yathāśvatthāmno yuddhavīre kramollanghanena 'kūṭodyāpi te tātaḥ' iti nepathyaśravaṇādi tasya karuṇarasasya.* (*Veṇisaṁhāram*, 3 8). *AB* on *NŚ*, 32.313.

32 It is interesting to note that the *Bṛ*, 326 and *SR*, 2.284 enjoin the *rāga Bhinnapañcama* to be used at the entrance of the *sūtradhāra.*

33 *Kuṭṭinīmatam*, 779-883; also *ibid.*, 927.

34 *NŚ*, 32.1. Cf. *Kāṁsyatālādikam ghanam, Amarakośa*, 1.7.4.

35 *AB* on *NŚ*, 28.2.

36 *Tatra hanyata iti ghanaḥ kaṭhinataikarūpaḥ tata iva namanonnamanaśaithilyādiyogabhavādakṣaravaiciryaṁ cānuruddhya mānamātreṇapayogikāṁsatālikādirucyate*—*AB* on *NŚ*, 31 1.

37 Lath, M., *A Study of Dattilam*, pp. 103-04; also appendix, pp. 451-52

38 *NŚ*, 32 27; also *kintvanyathā tasya gāne prādhānyamanyathā ca gāndharve. Tatra hi svaratālau pradhānam. Tau cānādharau na śakyau prayoktum*—*AB* on *NŚ*, 32. 27-28.

39 Abhinava quotes *pada* as being analogous to a wall mural. Just as the wall is the basis on which the mural is painted so is the *pada* the basis on which the *dhruvā* is structured—*anyepi kudyasta* (*tra*) *dṛṣṭāntena tena dhruvānāmādhāraḥ padamiti prayāyāt tadvidyate yasyāṁ vṛttajātau sa dhruveti*—*AB* on *NŚ*, 32.8.

40 See, Lath, M., *op. cit.*, pp. 165-70.

Chapter 13

Folk-Music in Ancient India

Attempts have been made in different contexts to distinguish elements of folk-culture within the ancient Indian tradition. In the sphere of art, for example, the distinction which Marshall had proposed between indigenous and foreign-inspired Maurya sculpture was explained by Coomaraswamy as a distinction between folk art and court-art.[1]

The difficulties of reconstructing ancient Indian music and distinguishing its folk origins from its developed classical traditions are much greater because of the perishable nature of music. Here, we are at the mercy of either indirect descriptions and allusions or of musicological texts. In the former type of descriptions the distinction between folk music and classical music is rarely made explicit.[2] In the latter type of description, it is classical music that is under consideration. Nevertheless, there is no doubt that folk-music entered as an element into the making of the classical structure of Indian music, and, in this respect it played a recurrent role in the different phases of its history.

We may begin by mentioning some of the general characteristics of folk-music. In the first place, it is characterised by relative simplicity, not only in terms of the fewer notes used, but also in terms of the simpler combinations. Its simplicity enabled it to be performed by untutored participants. The music here tends to be subordinate to the words and sense of the song. Freedom and improvisation are also marked characteristics of folk-singing where the accompaniments are also simple. A peculiar feature of folk-music is that very often the song begins at a high note and runs through descending notes. These songs are mostly functional, being part of a recognised social occasion and often have the sanctity of a ceremonial rite. Such are, for instance, songs which accompany the events of the life-cycle—birth, initiation, marriage, death. Similarly, the agricultural songs which accompany planting, transplanting, harvesting, etc., have an element of ritual associated with them. Folk-music is also frequently inter-twined with dance and mime. In short, folk-music does not emphasize music in its purity, but is rather a combination of many things, all together constituting a

social occasion which employs music as one of its voices.

From *sāman* came *gāndharva* and from *gāndharva* the *gāna*—*gāndharvaṁ hi sāmabhyastasmādbhavam gānam*.[3] Now, *sāman* means a melody in which a Vedic verse was sung. The nature of *sāman* may be gathered clearly from the explanation of Sāyaṇa—*Sāmaśabdavācyasya gānasya svarūpaṁ Ṛgakṣareṣu kruṣṭādibhiḥ. Saptabhiḥ svarairakṣarādibhicśa niṣpadyate*.[4] It was generally sung on the occasion of a Soma sacrifice. Soma was an exhilarating drink and its preparation and offering constituted a festive albeit holy occasion. Amongst the earliest recorded instances of such festive occasions is the famous Mahāvrata ceremony. In it the maidens bearing pitchers did a circular dance, the foot movement of which was in concordance with the rhythm of the songs known as *gāthās*. Such folk-songs are mentioned by name in the *Śrauta-sūtras*—Hillikā, Himbinī, Hastāvarā, Saṁvatsara-gāthā, Jhillukā, etc.—*atraitā dāsakumārya udakumbhānadhinidhāya triḥ pradakṣiṇam mārjaliyāṁ parinṛtyanti dakṣiṇanpado nighnantīridammadhu gāyanti. Hillikāṁ dve gāyetāṁ himbiniṁ dve hastāvāraṁ dve hai ...haimahā idammadhu hillahillivati sarvāsāṁ Ṛganteṣu*.[5]

In the *Yajurveda* are mentioned by name some particular *sāman* melodies which are connected with seasons :

Rathantaram sāma trivṛtstomo vasantaṛtuḥ ...
Bṛhatsāma pañcadaśastomo grīṣmaṛtuḥ ...
Vairūpam sāma saptadaśastomo varṣā ṛtuḥ ...
Śākvararaivate sāmani ...hemantaśiśirau ṛtu.[6]

In the *Śāṅkhāyana-gṛhya-sūtra* there is reference to *sāman* singing during the *Sīmantonnayana* ceremony. The husband gives instructions to the *vīṇā* players to play and sing the songs of king Soma.[7] *Bharuṇḍa sāman* was sung during oblations to the manes. The *Yamasūkta* in the *Ṛgveda* refers to *sāman* singing during last rites :

Yaṁ kumāra prāvartayo ratham viprebhyaspari
taṁ sāmānu prāvartata samito nāvvāhitam.[8]

We hear of *grāma-geya* variety of *sāman* music to be sung in the villages as distinct from *araṇya-geya* to be sung in the forests. It has rightly been surmised that *grāma-geya sāman* conceivably had folk connections. Much of the *sāman* recitation had a relatively simple appearance in terms of the musical notes and the patterns which it used. In fact, a verse quoted in *Bṛhaddeśī* seems to suggest that originally only three notes were used in *sāman* singing.

Ekasvaraprayogo hi ārcikaḥ so'bhidhīyate/
gāthiko dvisvaro jñeyaḥ trisvaraścaiva sāmikaḥ//[9]

It relates to the joyous occasion of preparing Soma and was gene-

rally sung in a chorus. Thus, although some aspects of *sāman* music are reminiscent of folk-music, nevertheless the developed music of the Vedic age was a most elaborate one which used a variety of musical instruments, the full octave and as many as three *grāmas*.

As already mentioned, according to Abhinavagupta, from *sāman* came *gāndharva*. The *gāndharva* form was apparently intermediate between the later *sāman* forms and the *gāna* system described in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. Though influenced by *sāman*, *gāndharva* was distinct from it. It is possible that part of the deviation was due to some non-*sāmic* influence on *gāndharva*. Abhinava has enunciated two other factors besides *sāman* songs as sources of *gāndharva*—the *audumbarī viṇā* and the flute as played in the tradition of Nārada.

The Vedic people took a keen delight in music and a variety of instruments were in vogue. Many *viṇās* were known of which the *audumbarī* was the most popular. Shri Ram Krishna Kavi has opined that a careful examination of Vedic rites and Śikṣās thereupon drives one to the irresistible conclusion that the origin of Indian music lay in certain rites where the priest and performer chanted some *gāthās* alternatively while the wife (*yajamānapatnī*) played on the *viṇā* and the closing of the sacrific was enjoined with the conduct of a peculiar dance. The kind of *viṇā* mentioned for the above purpose is called the *piccholā* which, at another place, is called *audumbarī*.[10] Abhinava mentions the *audumbarī* in connection with the rites of the Mahāvrata.

Some influence of regional or folk factors in the *jātis* is, in fact, suggested by their names. Thus, the musical idiom current in the northern regions seems to have contributed in giving the *jāti Ṣaḍjodīcyavā* its form (*udīcya* country, to the north of Sarasvatī, i.e. the northern region). Regarding *ṣaḍjodīcyavā*, Abhinava remarks :

> *Udīcyāḥ pravoktāro bahulena santyasyāmityudīcyā.*
> *Vānti gacchantīti udīcyepi ca dṛṣyate.*[11]

In this context he specifically mentions the name of some regional *rāgas* :

> *Gītaṁ ca deśanāmadheyairbāhulyadabhi-rucitatvāpekṣayā vyapadiśyata eva Ṭakkarāgo Mālavapañcamī Gauḍī Mālavī Kāmbojityādi.*[12]

A parallel can be seen in current *rāgas* incorporating stylised folk idioms such as *Sindh Bhairavī*, *Ahīra Bhairava*, *Baṅgāla Bhairava*, *Māṇḍa*, etc. Two other *jātis* evince a northern influence—the *Madhyamodīcyavā*, the *Gāndhārodīcyavā*. Another *jāti*, the *Āndhrī*, may have been influenced by local forms popular in the Andhra

region.

Account of *sāman* singing evince no trace of *tāla*. It is likely that *tāla*, rendered as a rich structural pattern with its own independent forms was absent from *sāman* music (as is also testified by the fact that none of the existing *sāman śākhās* have anything like a *tāla* accompaniment with the *sāman* chant) but evolved in the popular percussion music of Vedic times. This, then, was passed on as a legacy to *gāndharva* and through it to subsequent art forms of Indian music.

Kālidāsa in the *Abhijñānaśākuntalam* refers to a song by the *Naṭī* on the occasion of summer and calls it *gītarāga*.[13] This brings us to the new kind of music which Abhinava calls *gāna* distinguishing it from *gāndharva*. There was quite a difference between the two in all their three constituent factors—*svara*, *tāla* and *pada*. The distinction lay essentially in the change of purpose, manner and occasion.

The ultimate purpose of *gāndharva* was to bring about spiritual merit (*adṛṣṭa*), whereas in *gāna* it was merely to please the audience. Again, the manner of *gāna* was much freer and it was used on non-ritualistic occasions. *Gāna* included forms like *grāma rāga*, *rāga*, *bhāṣā*, *vibhāṣā* etc. These derivate forms born through mixing and combining elements taken from two or more *jātis* in various ways, and were hence called hybrid or *saṅkara* forms. These forms when moulded to the theatrical context were called *gāna*. All possible musical scales and chromatic tonal formations were permitted in it; even quarter-tones or notes with a single *śruti* interval were part of the normal fare. *Tāla*, too, in *gāna* was a flexible timing. Compared to *gāndharva*, *gāna* was thus distinctly more popular and freer. This change in spirit and style may possibly be attributed to the influence of folk tunes and theatrical songs.

While *gāndharva* represented the classical form, folk music continued alongside and continued its perennial role of supporting festive occasions. The *Harivaṁśa* mentions festivals in which men and women assembled together for song and dance. In this connection is mentioned *chālikya*—a style of singing current amongst the cowherds. This was composed by Śrī Kṛṣṇa and was the most popular from in chorus singing.

Ājñāpayāmāsa tataḥ sa tasyām
niśi prahṛṣṭo bhagavānupendraḥ
Chālikyageyaṁ bahusannidhānām
yadeva gāndharvamudāharanti
Jagrāha vīṇāmatha Nāradastu

ṣaḍgrāmarāgādisamādhiyuktām
Hallisakam tu svayameva Kṛṣṇaḥ
svayaṁsaghoṣam Naradevapārthaḥ.[14]

The *chālikya* was sung in varions *grāma rāgas*, adorned by *mūrchanās*, etc. :

Śakyam na chālikyamṛte tapobhiḥ
sthāne vidhānānyatha mūrchanāsu
Ṣaḍgrāmarāgeṣu ca tatra kāryam
tasyaikadeśāvayavena rājan
Leśābhidhānam sukumārajātim
niṣṭhāṁ suduḥkhena naraḥ prayānti.[15]

The *Kāmasūtra*[16] mentions *chalitaka* as one of the 64 *kalās* so necessary for courtesans and maidens—*sampāṭhyam mānasī kāvya-kriyā, abhidhānakośaḥ, chandojñānam kriyākalāpaḥ, chalitakayogaḥ* [16] In the *Mālavikāgnimitra*, Kālidāsa mentions *chalita* as a dance based on a particular song, danced by a single dancer.[17]

Hallisaka appears to have been the name of song-cum-dance form. It is said to be illustrated in the paintings of the Bagha Caves. It may be recalled that it has been mentioned as one of the *uparūpaks*. Other *uparūpakas*. of a similar kind included the *rāsaka* which has been described as a cowherds' dance-song. Similarly, the *Rāgakāvya* was another from of *uparūpaka*. Bhāmaha mentions *dvipadī*, *śamyā*, *rāsaka* and *skandhaka*. Daṇḍin mentions *lāsya*, *chalika* and *śamyā.*[18] *Śṛṅgāra Prakāśa* has twelve varieties of *uparūpakas* which included *hallisaka*, *nartanaka*, *rāsaka*, *nāṭyarāsaka* and *carcarī* [19]

In the *uparūpakas*, music and dance predominate. Many of them are dances accompanied with song and gestures. Their popular origin and role hardly admit any doubt.

In course of time, with the efflorescence of *gāna* and its musicological elaboration, a difference came to be perceived between the classical and folk dimensions of music. This was labelled as the distinction between *mārga* and *deśī*.

We have, thus, seen that there was constant interaction between folk-music and classical music in ancient India. Folk-music was a constant element in folk culture, forming a perennial dimension of the festive and ritual round of social life. It served as the popular matrix of the more developed forms of music and even in its classical form gave it a diversity of local colour. As a consequence, a full appreciation of the social role of classical music will necessarily imply connecting it with its folk origins and elements. The fact is that folk-music represents music in its social integrity

whereas the intensive development of music in its purity leads to the elaboration of classical systems through the creative role of genius. The history of music may be, thus, said to revolve between two poles of folk-music and classical music.

Footnotes

1 Coomaraswamy, A.K., *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, pp. 8-16.
2 *Raghuvaṁśa*, IV.20. For example, *ikṣucchāyaniṣādinyaḥ ... śāligopyo jaguryaśaḥ*.
3 *Abhinavabhārati* on *Nāṭyaśāstra* (GOS ed.), 28, 9-10.
4 Introduction to *Ṛgveda Saṁhitā*.
5 *Lāṭyāyana-śrauta-sūtra*, 4.3, 17-23. Cf also *Kātyāyana-śrauta-sūtra*, 13.3. 20-22; *Taittirīya Saṁhitā*, 7.5, 10.
6 Cf *Śukla Yajurveda Saṁhitā*, 10.10.
7 *Śāṅkhāyana-gṛhya-sūtra*, 1.22.
8 *Ṛgveda Saṁhitā*, 10, 135.4.
9 *Bṛhaddeśī* (Trivandrum ed.), p.17.
10 Quoted in *Bhāratīya Saṅgīter Itihāsa*, Bengali, by Swami Prajñānanda, Vol. 1, p. 199.
11 *Abhinavabhārati* on *Nāṭyaśāstra*, GOS ed., 26, 106-09.
12 *Ibid.*, *l.c.*
13 *Abhijñānaśākuntalam*, *Prastāvanā*; *Tavāsmi gītarāgeṇa.*
14 *Ibid.*, 89, 91.
15 *Harivaṁśa*, 89, 67-8.
16 *Kāmasūtra*, 3.16.
17 *Mālavikāgnimitram*, Act I.
18 Daṇḍin, *Kāvyādarśa*, 1.39.
19 Raghavan, V., *Bhoja's Śṛṅgāra Prakāśa*, pp. 54ff.

Chapter 14

The Development of the Desi Element in the Theatric Arts

The *Bṛhaddeśī* of Mataṅga muni defines *deśī* as *deśe deśe pravṛto' sau dhavnirdeśīti saṁjñitaḥ*.[1] *Abalābālagopālaiḥ kṣitipālairnijecchayā Giyate sānurāgeṇa svadeśe deśirucyate*,[2] i.e. "That air or tune which is prevalent in various regions is known as *deśī*". He further expounds "That music which is sung by women, children, cowherds and kings (or in other words, by the general populace) out of spontaneous inclination and desire, in the regions where these people dwell (*svadeśe*) is termed *deśī*." *Deśī*, was thus, the term for popular, regional or folk forms. Even though Mataṅga applies it to music, the term may be extended to cover all the theatric arts, viz. music, dance and drama. The term *deśī* is first used in the *Bṛhaddeśī* written in the 7th cent. A.D. Moreover, Mataṅga is first to distinguish between the *deśī* (i.e. regional, popular form) and *mārga* (which meant the classical tradition).

Nibaddhaścānibaddhaśca mārgoyaṁ dvividho mataḥ /
ālāpādinibandho yaḥ sa ca mārgaḥ prakīrtitaḥ //—*ibid*., 14.

"Its path (*mārga*) is two fold : regulated (*nibaddha*) and unregulated (*anibaddha*). That which is regulated through *ālāpa* etc. is called *mārga*." What should be added is that *deśī* was the *anibaddha* form or the non-formalised form.

Śārṅgadeva, right at the beginning of his work, introduces a two-fold classification of musical forms, *mārga* and *deśī*, distinguishing them on the same lines as *gāndharva* and *gāna*—

Mārgo deśīti tad dvedha tatra mārgaḥ sa ucyate
yo mārgito viriñcyādyaiḥ prayukto Bharatādibhiḥ
devasya purataḥ Śambhorniyatābhudayapradaḥ
deśe deśe janānām yadrucyā hṛdayarañjakam
gītam ca vādanam nṛttam taddeśītyabhidhīyate.[3]

"That (i.e., *saṅgīta*) is two fold : *mārga* and *deśī*. *Mārga* is that which has been discovered (or revealed—*mārgita*) by Brahmā etc., and was performed by Bharata and others before Lord Śiva. *Mārga* certainly bestows spiritual well-being. But that music—instrumental and vocal—and that dance, which delights people of different

regions and is born of different aesthetic tastes, is called *deśī*.

Mataṅga's notion of *deśī* is the same as that of Śārṅgadeva, but his notion of *mārga* clearly does not comply with what was *mārga* in the latter. *Mārga*, according to Mataṅga, is a name given to those *deśī* forms which were comparatively more regulated or rule-bound than the others.

Kallinātha has the most explicit definition of *mārga* vis-a-vis *deśī*—

> *Deśītvam ca taddeśamanujamanorañjanaikaphala-tvena kāmacārapravartitam.*[4]

i.e., "those forms that are created in various areas and regions (of the country) for the pleasures of the populace are in the *deśī* state : with this end in view their composition follows a free and a spontaneous course." He quotes an authority named Añjaneya who has defined *deśī rāgas* as :

> *Yeṣāṁ śrutisvaragrāmajātyādiniyamo na hi*
> *nānādeśagaticchayā deśīrāgastu te smṛtāḥ.*[5]

"Those (*rāgas*) which are not governed by rules regarding *śruti svara*, *grāma*, *jāti*, etc., and contain echoes of musical movements popular in regional (or folk) music of various areas, are known as *deśī rāgas*." Kallinātha adds that like song forms, even instrumental music and dance are known as *deśī* when they are composed on the basis of pure whim, without imperative rules to control them—

> *Evaṁ vādyanṛttayorapi kāmacārapravartitayor*
> *deśītvam vagantavyam.*[6]

But a gradual revolution came from about the 7th cent. A.D. This century saw the efflorescence of a host of popular and regional forms in the different theatric arts. This distinction between the classical and popular or folk dimension was not only noticed but given its due importance by the art experts of the day. In fact, as mentioned above, the *Bṛhaddeśī* is the first text written in detail about the popular *deśī* tradition Earlier, the *Nāradīya-Śikṣā* and *Dattilam* exclusively, and the *Nāṭyaśātra* almost exclusively, were on the classical forms. The development of the *deśī* forms can be traced in all the theatric arts. In music, the classical *gāndharva* system was gradually giving way to the *gāna* and *rāga* systems. In dance, the classical *tāṇḍava* and *lāsya* still prevailed, but a variety of *deśī nṛtyas* or dances can also be seen, such as are depicted in the Bagh paintings. In drama, a number of *uparūpakas* and *nāṭikās* were becoming popular.

During the post-classical period, a change came about in the sphere of music. In Canto 27 of the *Bṛhatkathāślokasaṅgraha*,

as pointed out by Dr. P.K. Agrawala, there is "bitter invective against *Nāradīya* (i.e. *gāndharva*) music. Its teacher, a *vīṇācārya*, is spoken of as of coarse voice (*khara svara*), ignorant in the knowledge of *śruti* (Canto 27) and incapable of distinguishing *niṣāda* and *ṣaḍja* (27.20). It was for this reason, that Sānudāsa and Gandharvadattā (i.e. the hero and heroine) turned their face against *Nāradīya* music." He opines that the *Nāradīya saṅgīta* was replaced by the new music of the *rāgas* and *rāginīs*. He concludes by saying, "This was an important innovation in the history of Indian music and it appears from the statement made here that the people's reaction was all in favour of the new musical modes in preference to the *Nāradīya saṅgīta*, which has been made here the object of ridicule".[7] In Canto 24, 239-50, where a *vīṇāgoṣṭhī* is described, Dr. Agrawala points out, is given "a graphic description of the entertainments at a musical club by playing on *vīṇā*, which was considered to be the sign of *Nāradīya* music and consequently held in ridicule by those who loved the *deśya saṅgīta*."[8] This is not to say that the *gāndharva* system was out of vogue. It was still prevalent as the classical music of the day. On the other hand, the *dhruvā* system of music underwent elaboration, many new derivative forms of *grāma rāgas* arose, and it became popular as it was influenced by folk and regional factors. In fact, with the efflorescence of *gāna*, within *gāna* itself a difference came to be perceived between the classical and the regional dimensions of music. It was this that was labelled as *mārga* and *deśī* by Mataṅga in his *Bṛhaddeśī*. The *dhruvā gāna* consisted of *grāma rāgas* and its derivates *bhāṣā*, *vibhāṣā* and *antarabhāṣā*, and these names have folk and regional connotations. *Grāma rāgas* like *Mālava-kaiśika*, *Gauḍa-kaiśika*, *Gāndhāra-pañcama*, *Sauvīraka*, *Śaka*, *Revagupta*, and *Bhāṣā* like *Gurjarī*, *Saurāṣṭrī*, *Saindhavī*, *Āndhrī*, *Pulindī*, *Ābhīrī*, *Drāviḍī*, *Harṣaputrī* and *Sālavāhanikā* described for the first time in the *Bṛhaddeśī* definitely suggest regional influence.

The *Harṣacarita* mentions five types of *dhruvā* songs used in the theatre. The *dhruvā* songs were in Prākṛt which was the language of the common man. Mataṅga muni terms the *grāma rāgas* and *bhāṣās* as *lokarañjikā* (*Bṛhaddeśī*, p. 107), that is, that which delights the populace. At the beginning of the *Nāgānanda*, the Sūtradhāra sings a song in praise of his wife Naṭī—*gṛhaṇimāhūya saṅgītakamanutiṣṭhāmi*. The occasion of the play is the festival of Indradhvaja and the *rasa* is *śānta*. It is possible that the song was in the *Boṭṭarāga*. It was to be used for *śānta rasa* and on festive occasions. In the *Priyadarśikā* (3, 8-9) Arañyikā sings Prākṛt love songs.

She is endowed with all the qualities of a good songstress. In the *Daśa*. (*Pūrvapīṭhikā*; 5th *Ucchvāsa*, p.52) a good songstress is described as *gāyakīṣu madakalakokilamañjuladhvanīṣu*, i.e. with a sweet and intoxicating voice like that of the cuckoo.

Apart from the popular theatre songs, there were the songs on recognised social occasions. Such were, for instance, songs which accompany the events of life-cycle—birth, intiation, marriage etc. These were sung by householders, domestic ladies and courtezans. In the *HC* (4th *Ucchvāsa*) on the occasion of Rājyaśrī's wedding, the wives of the feudal lords (*sāmantas*), who are faithful and beautiful, sang auspicious wedding songs, taking the names of the bride and bridegroom—*varagotragrahaṇagarbhāṇi śrutisubhagāni maṅgalāni gāyantibhiḥ* These seems to be what we now term as the *bannābanni gita*. Besides household ladies, courtezans were also invited to sing songs on weddings. The *Mālatīmādhava* (Act VI) describes a marriage procession in which courtezans or *vārasundarīs* are singing aloud sweet, auspicious songs uttered indistinctly in consequence of their cheeks being filled by rolls of betel leaves—*tāmbūlaviṭikāpūritakapolamaṇḍala*....*skhalitamadhuramaṅgalodgita*....*vārasundarī*: Similarly, during the birth of a son, a variety of songs sung by different types of people are described by Bāṇa. The *sūtikāgṛhagita* or *sohara* are described in the *Kādambarī* (*Kādambarī, Sūtikāgṛhavarṇanam*). Many old ladies start singing sweet auspicious songs in the delivery room itself—*anekavṛddhāṅganārabdhasūtikāmaṅgalagitikā manoharam*. In the *HC* (4th *Ucchvāsa*), on the birth of Harṣa, the courtezans render song and dance. Accompanied by a number of instruments they sang a variety of vulgar mimes—*aślīlarāsakapadāni*. V. S. Agrawala says that "the word *aślīla* prefixed to the name is proof of the existence of a particular class of *rāsaka* songs which were marked by obscence passages," and are still sung at the time of marriages and other ceremonies under the name of Sithane. He terms them as folk songs. Other interesting types of songs sung on the occasion are also described by Bāṇa. These were the songs sung in court by young lads disclosing the secret love affairs of courtiers. Besides these were the songs and dances of the queens, wives of feudal lords and other ladies. Then there were songs sung by women during the bathing of the king. The *Kādambarī* (*Kathāmukha, Śūdrakanityakṛtyavarṇanam*) describes the courtezans who sang songs with a number of instruments while bathing the king. The *Nāgānanda* (2,13) too, describes beautiful women singing songs in a high pitched voice set in the *gāndhāra grāma* scale while bathing the king. Devotional songs sung by women have also been

described. In the *Kādambari* (*Śivasiddhāyatanam*), Mahaśvetā sings the *Śiva stuti gāna*. In the *Nāgānanda* (1,14) the heroine, Malayavatī, sings a devotional song or *bhajana* before Goddess Bhagavatī. The use of the *kākali* note (*kākalipradhānam*) is predominant. This note was prohibited in the *gāndharva* music, but was prolifically used in the *deśi saṅgita*.

There were also the songs rendered during different types of *goṣṭhis* or get-togethers of citizens, songs of the various seasons, songs of festivals and of *yātrās* or processions. In the 5th *Ucchvāsa*, the *HC* refers to the *gītagoṣṭhī*. The *BKSS* (24, 25 ff.) describes a *vīṇāgoṣṭhi* in a Jaina temple. The citizens took part in singing and lute playing. The *Daśa*. (2nd *Ucchvāsa*, p.83) describes the musical concert by the courtezan Rāgamañjarī at the Public Hall of the Citizens—*pañcaviragoṣṭhī saṅgītakamanusthāsyatīti*. The same text (8th *Ucchvāsa*, p. 193) refers to a *gītasaṁgītapānagoṣṭhī*, i.e. a drinking party with songs and music. The *BKSS* (18, 39) says that the songs in the drinking party were in *rāga vasanta* and were accompanied by the lute and flute. In the *Nāgānanda* (3.8), the hero sings song pertaining to the inebriated state. The content of the song has bees humming songs and drinking nectar from the flowers. In the same way, intoxicated lovers drink wine with their beloved and sing songs about drinking wine.

Then there were songs related to the cycle of various seasons. In the *Kirāta*. (13,18; 10,38) the Gandharvas play on the *vīṇā* and *mṛdaṅga* and sing songs of the six seasons and the Apasarās dance to these songs. In the *Ratnāvalī* (Act I) of Harṣa, the *carcarī* is performed in spring. The *carcarī* is both, a song and a dance. In the *Kārpūramañjarī* it is a song sung in an emotional state in a high pitched voice in either the fast or medium tempo or *laya*. The *dvipadī*, another song sung during the season, is a Prākṛt song with four quarters and 13 mātrās in each. It is possible that the *vasanta rāga* got its name as it may have been the particular *rāga* of the season. Similarly, the *rāga sāraṅga* may have been the melody for the summer season. In the *Prastāvanā* of the *Abhijñānaśākuntalam*, the Naṭī sings a Prākṛt song of the summer season. The song seems to be in *rāga sāraṅga*, as there seems to be a pun on the Sūtradhāra's *gītarāgeṇa .. sāraṅgeṇa*, where Sāraṅga denotes both a deer and the *rāga*.

In the *Prastāvanā* of the *Veṇisaṁhāra*, the Sūtradhāra sings the song of the autuman season—*saratsa-mayamāśritya ... saṅgītakam*. The song praises the beauties of the autumn season which abounds

in lakes beautified by kāśa flowers, lotuses, white lilies, swans, and the autumnal moonlight.

The turn of each season seemed to be the occasion for festivals and festive processions or *yātrās*. All the citizens and the courtezans participated in dances and songs. The *Daśa.* (2nd *Ucchvāsa*, p.66) says that the courtezans should appear decked in *yātrās* and *utsavas* or public festivals and their songs should be such as to suit the particular occasion—*yātrotsavādiṣu...prasaṅgavatyām saṅgītādikriyāyā*. In the *Ratnāvalī* (1,25), the courtezans sing songs on the occasion of the Madanamahotsava—*vāravanitāgitāni*. In fact, the citizens and courtezans all celebrate the Vasantotsava and Madanamahotsava with song and dance. The *Daśa.* (7,57) describes a beautiful festive procession in the autumn season—*śaratkāle yātrā*. The city people, king, his harem, courtezans, all participate in it in the midst of the music of flutes, drums, tabors and lutes (*ibid*, 8, 1-7). In the *BKSS* (20, 283) autumn festivities take place in the village. In the *Priyadarśikā* (Act III) the Kaumudīmahotsava is celebrated with the enacting of a play named *Udayanacarita* with prolific music and dance.

Furthermore, there were agricultural songs, mostly functional, which accompanied planting, transplanting, harvesting etc. The *Kirāta.* (4,9) mentions the cowherdesses protecting the rice (*kalamasya gopikā*). They probably sang songs while on duty. The *Raghu.* (4,20) describes the cowherdesses who were protecting the corn singing songs of the glory of the king—*śāligopyo jaguryaśaḥ*.

Again, the *Kirāta.* (4, 33) says that the melodious singing of the cowherd maidens excelled the melodic air of the peacocks—*jitabarhidhvanau suraktagopījanagītaniḥsvane*. The melodic air of the peacocks has been termed as *ṣaḍjasaṁvādinī* in the *Raghu.* (1, 39). The *saṁvāda* of *sa* is with *ma* and *pa* It may be noted that folk music uses few notes and, in fact, generally stresses on the 3 notes *sa ma pa sa*. The song invariably begins on a high note (which generally happens to be the *tāra sā*) and runs through descending notes. So here, the comparison between the folk singing of the cowherdesses and the natural musical *saṁvāda* of the peacocks is very apt. In fact, in the *BKSS* (20,242) the cowherd maidens are said to be more skilled than actresses in the arts—*gopyastu caturācārāḥ naṭirapyatiśerate*. In Canto 16 of the same text, is described lute playing by ploughmen, cowherds, carpenters, potters and cane splitters. In the third *Ucchvāsa* of the *HC* (pp. 94-95), Bāṇa gives a vivid description of the ploughing of fields and sugarcane plantation in the countryside of the Śrīkaṇṭha janapada. It is here that he

refers to herdsmen delighting themselves with singing folk tunes. He also refers to the musical instruments being played during the Vṛṣotsarga ceremony (i e. sanctifying of a sire bull).

The *HC* abounds in references to social and folk type of dancing. In the 2nd Canto (p 38) a beautiful similie describing the dust storms in the summer says that the rising dust seemed as if dancers were performing the *ārbhaṭī nṛtya*. There are two other reference to the *ārbhaṭī* style of dancing and from the first we know that this style was used in the *rāsa* form of dance in which *recaka*s were prominent. Moreover there are five characteristics of this dance (i) *maṇḍalī nṛtya*, (ii) *recaka*, (iii) *rāsarasa*, (iv) *rabhasārabha nartana*, and (v) *catulaśikhā nartana*.[9] In the *Nāṭyaśāstra* (20, 14, Kavyamala ed.) the *ārbhaṭī* is a style (*vṛtti*) and not the name of a particular dance. Possibly in the *Harṣacarita*, too, the reference is to the nature of the dance, and the general impression of the dance. The *maṇḍalī nṛtya*, which is mentioned, is interpreted by Śaṅkara, the commentator, as *hallisaka*, where a man stands surrounded by women in circle. The idea is that like Śrī Kṛṣṇa there is one *nāyaka* in the middle and a circle of cowherd maidens round him dancing. The *Harivaṁśa* (86, 67-8) mentions festivals in which men and women assembled together for song-cum-dance—the *hallisaka*. There is a representation of the *hallisaka* in the Bagh Caves, where a man stands in the middle surrounded by women dancing with little wooden sticks. The *maṇḍalī nṛtya*, hence, represents a social type of dancing and is obviously related to the *hallisaka nṛtya*. The *recaka* is of three types—*kaṭi*, *hasta* and *grīvā recakas*, i.e. rotatory movements of the waist, hands and neck. These circular movements in the *ārbhaṭī* style made it very effective and helped to create a powerful impression. Like the *hallisaka*, the *rāsa* is similarly related to *Kṛṣṇa* and the *Gopīs*. While in the *hallisaka* there is one *nāyaka* and several *nāyikās*, in *rāsa* there are as many men as women. Pairs take part in it, for Kṛṣṇa multiplied himself and kept company with each of the gopikās. In the *rāsarasa* we have, again, a reference to the patterns formed. According to Śaṅkara, the dance consists of the formation of eight, sixteen or thirty-two *maṇḍalas* or circles. The circle is the chief characteristic of the dance, and to this day the *rāsa* in any part of India is fascinating for its circle formations of various kinds, e.g. the Gujarati *rāsa* and the different types of *garbā*, as well as the *mahārāsa* variety of the Manipur *rāsa*. The *maṇḍalas* formed in these group dances are of all the four types of *piṇḍībandha*. The *piṇḍībandha* style of dance has a variety of group circle formations and has distinct folk elements. Firstly,

there are circle formations based on single chain or concentric circles; often they break up into the *latābandha* variety, where a number of radials revolve round a centre forming a star like pattern. Or again, a cyclic pattern might consist of several pairs grouped round a centre holding each others' arms or beating time with sticks thus evolving sub-cycles within cycle. A fine example of this type of *piṇḍibandha* may be seen in the *dāṇḍiyā rāsa* of Kathiawar even today. The *rabhasarabha nartana* generally refers to the frenzied emotion and tempo of the dance. Thus the *ārbhaṭī* dance, to which Bāṇa refers, is distinctly group and folk in character, and must have been characterised by quick springing tempo, fast movements and a choreography of circle and group formations.[10]

The Jaina text *NC* of Jinandāsa Gaṇi, attributed to the last quarter of the 7th cent. A.D. mentions four types of *nṛtta* (*natta*). These are *añcita*, *ribhiṭa*, *arbhaṭa* and *bhasola*.[11] Here *arbhaṭa* is same as the *ārbhaṭī* of the *Harṣacarita*. *Bhasola* is probably the same as the *bhramara* dance. In the *Bhramara* style, the pirouettes and rotations are predominant. *Añcita* is said to be a *deśī* or local, regional, variety of dance form in the *Saṅgīta Ratnākara* (4, 749-60). It is categorised under the *utplutikaraṇas*, i.e. the most characteristic features of this style were jumps and leaps. One may here draw attention to the similar *uflis* of the present-day Chau folk dance-dramas. In fact, in the *purulia chau* many pirouettes, rotations, are known, and high jumps and leaps are the most outstanding features of this style, all reminding one of the *bhramara* and *añcita* styles. In the *Mayurbhanj chau*, *uflis* incorporate agricultural functions, war-drill and animal gaits. There is a group suggesting the gait of animals. These *uflis* are reminiscent of the spiral category of the *Nāṭyaśāstra karaṇas*, termed the *vṛścika karaṇas*, in which there are leg extensions, raising of legs etc. In the *Daśa.* (8th *Ucchvāsa*, p. 205-06), there is an interesting reference to a dancer who performs various leaps and movements of animals performed in the *vṛścika* style of leg extensions, raising one leg up, pirouetting around with legs up and palms on the ground and leaping or darting like a fish. The latter may be like the *chau* gait termed *saula dian* (i.e. a fish jerking out of water). Then the same dancer performed a sort of martial dance with daggers (*l.c.*). In the *Mayurbhani chau*, too, there are dances, like the *astra-daṇḍa*, which depict only martial drill.

The first Act of *Ratnāvalī* mentions the *carcarī* dance of the Vasantotsava. Bhoja describes the *nāṭyarāsaka* which is also called the *carcarī*. It was performed by *nartakīs* in the spring time. One

pair first enters, strews flowers, dances and goes; then two others enter, and thus groups are formed which execute the *piṇḍibandha* patterns of *latā*, *gulma*, *śṛṅkhalā* etc. The drum instrumentation is accompanied by the striking of sticks too. Śārṅgadeva says that this *carcarī* is composed in *rāga hiṇḍola* (associated with the swing) and *tāla carcarī*.

In the *HC* (4th *Ucchvāsa*, p. 108), there is reference to another type of dance, performed only by ladies carrying pitchers on their heads : they carry pitchers round the village singing and dancing. The auspicious significance of pitchers is recognised from very early times and continues to be accepted to this day.

Yet another variety of the social type of dancing is referred to in the *BKSS* (5,79). It mentions the dancing together of the fathers-in-law surrounded by their daughters-in-law—*vadhuvṛnda parivā-raḥ pranṛtaḥ svasura api.* The exact details are not given. In the same text (22, 150; 22, 162) when the bride is brought to the husband's house, she is greeted by the dancing of bards and the servants, drunk with wine, in the courtyard. The dance of servants during Harṣa's birth is also mentioned in the *HC*. The old maid-servants of the palace also danced. The Śūdrā maid-servants take hold of the favourites of the king and start dancing with them. The *prati-hāṛīs* of the queen's chamber join the maid-servants in a dance. In this couple dancing, they took each other by the arm and danced. Finally, there was the dance of courtezans on joyous occasions. In the *BKSS*. (5, 78) on such a joyous occasion, a host of courtezans danced to the beating of time. The *HC* (pp. 64-65) has a vivid description of the graceful dancing of the courtezans. They execute rhythmical movements accentuating the torso, swaying (i.e. *preṅk-hita*) movements of the middle portion and hips. There is described yet another dance form including movements of outstretched arms creating the effect of graceful embraces (*bahu āliṅgana*).

There are several references to the theatrical exhibitions and enacting of plays. The *BKSS* (2, 32) refers to a play enacted in a king's harem. The play is a musical one-*śrutasaṅgīta*-and is enacted only by women—*strīpātranāṭakaḥ*'. In the *Priyadarśikā* of Harṣa (Act III) a play called the *Udayanacaritanāṭaka* is enacted on the occasion of the Kaumudī festival. It is presented in the royal auditorium and enacted supposedly only by females. In fact, in the first quarter of the 8th cent., Dāmodaragupta in his *KM* refers to the enacting of *Ratanāvali* in a temple at Kāśī. Again, the roles, both male and female, are enacted by females.

Musical instruments were divided into four categories—*tantri-*

vādya or stringed instruments, *suṣira* or wind instruments, *avanaddha* or percussion instruments, membranophonic in character and *ghana* i.e. percussion instruments which were idiophonic in character. The *citra viṇā* of Bharata's *gāndharva* music is not referred to. The *parivādinī* and *vipañci* were the popular *viṇās* of the time. The former was played with a plectrum and the latter with fingers. Some others were the *kacchapākāra viṇās* shaped like a tortoise. Of the *ghana* instruments bell metal cymbals or *kānsy-tāla* were the most important. Folk music was, however, dominated by *suṣira* and *avanaddha* instruments. Among the *suṣira* instruments may be mentioned the *śaṅkha* or conch shell, *vaṁśa* and *veṇu* or flute and *kahala*. The flute was the chief *suṣira vādya*. Abhinavagupta, in the 10th cent. A.D. refers to flutes made of silver, bronze and gold. This development must have taken place between 7th-10th cent. because right upto the 7th century *vaṁśa* or flutes were constructed of bamboo. Abhinavagupta says: "Mataṅga muni etc. used bamboo-constructed flutes to please Śiva in devotion. Hence, it is known as *vaṁśa*." The *BKSS* (3,33) refers to *karkara veṇu*. This seems to have been a kind of musical instrument formed of seven pieces of bamboo (*veṇu*) to produce different notes like that of the lute (*karkarī*) and was, therefore, called *karkara veṇu* more or less like a syrinx. The *NC* (4, p. 201) says that *kahala* was the same as the musical instrument *kharamukhī*. Its frontal protion was made of wood and was shaped like the mouth of an ass—*kharamukhī kahala, tassa musatthane kharamukhākāram katthamayam muham kajjati*. It mentions two other wind instruments viz. the *pirpiṭī* and *nālikā*. The *pirpiṭī* seems to be a typical folk *suṣira vādya*. It was an instrument made by joining together two pieces of hollow sticks and its mouth had only one opening. It was blown like a *śaṅkha* and it produced three different sounds simultaneously. The *nālikā* was an instrument made from the jointless portion of the bamboo reed (*apavva-vaṁsa*). It was known as *muralī* also.

Of the percussion instruments there are reference to *mṛdaṅgs* like *āliṅgyaka, dardura, paṇava. muraja, jhallarī, bherī, dundubhi* and *paṭaha*. The *mṛdaṅga* had three varieties—*āliṅgyaka, ūrdhvaka* and *āṅkika*. The *āliṅgyaka* had the *gopuccha* shape, that is the shape of a cow's tail. It is clearly illustrated in the Bagh Caves of this period, e.g. in the *hallīsaka* dance scene. It was hugged to the body by the right hand. It was probably hung from the shoulder by a strap so as to keep it in place. *Dardura* had the form of a huge *ghaṭa* or water pot. The *paṇava* was another membranophonic drum with a length of 16 fingers and face of the measure of 5 fingers. The girth

of the middle part was not much, being somewhat angular which made its appearance rather thin and elongated (*kṛśākāra*). The *muraja* was a drum kept upright and beaten perhaps with a stick. According to Śārṅgadeva, the *jhallarī* was an *avanaddha vādya* hung round the neck. It was held in the left hand and played with the right hand. According to Abhinavagupta, however, *jhallarī* meant cymbals of bell metal, perhaps something like the modern *jhāñja*. The body of the *bheri* was of copper. The left face of the *bheri* was struck by the hand and the right with a *koṇa* or striker. The *paṭaha*, too, it seems, had two faces and was struck with hand or striker. The *dundubhi* had a large body, emitting a loud sound like the thundering of a cloud. Its belly was of *kānsyam*, and its face was covered with leather without the surrounding ring or *valaya*. It was struck with a *koṇa* or plectrum of hardened leather. It was bound by leather straps on all sides. It was used on auspicious occasions such as victory, during festivals and for sounding in temples.

The *NC* (4, p.201), mentions the *guñja paṇava* and *bhambha*. These were musical instruments used by the *mahāuts* (elephant drivers) and the *mātaṅgas*.

From the various sources of the age, it is clear that the development of the theatric arts took place along two interconnected dimensions. Theoretical systematisation and spontaneous creativity both interacted and led to the enrichment of classical and folk forms.

Footnotes

1 *Bṛhaddeśī*, 3, ed. K. Sambasiva Sastri, Trivandrum, 1928.
2 *Ibid.*, 13.
3 *Saṅgīta Ratnākara*, 1.1, 22-24.
4 Kallinātha, Commentary on *ibid.*, *l.c.*
5 *Ibid.*, *l.c.*
6 *Ibid.*, *l.c.*
7 *Bṛhatkathāślokasaṅgraha—A Study*, p. 323, V. S. Agrawala, Sanskrit text, edited by P.K. Agrawala, Prithvi Prakashan, Varanasi, 1974.
8 *Ibid.*, p. 351.
9 Vatsyayan, K., *Classical Indian Dance in Literature and the Arts* p. 226.
10 *Ibid.*, pp. 226-27.
11 *Paṭṭam cauvvihāni-aṁciyam ribhiyam arbhadam bhasolam ti—Niśīthacūrṇi*, 4, p. 2.

Chapter 15

Buddhism and the Performing Arts

The Buddhist contribution to the visual arts. viz. painting, sculpture and architecture is well-known. It contributed in no mean way to the performing arts also. Buddhist literature and sculpture abound in motifs and scenes of dance, music and drama.

Buddhist literature—the *Jātakas* and other religious texts, the plays of Aśvaghoṣa and Harṣa—frequently mention the theatric arts. The *Jātaka* legends abound with references to *naṭas* (actors) and *nāṭakas* (plays or dramatic performances). The *Milindapañho*, 331 refers to the *nartaka*, *gāyaka*, and *bherivādaka*. From various statements it seems that it was customary to hold dramatic performances after the coronation of a prince. In Book 20, No.531 (*Kuśa Jātaka*) occurs the statement : *detu nāṭakāni ...passama-bhadde puttasa te rajjam*, i.e. "Madam, while handing over the kingdom to your son, you should hold dramatic performances." Part IV, 67 (*Udaya Jātaka*) Book 11, No. 458 says—*Rājāputtam abhisiñcitvā nāṭakāni.* The *Jātakas* also mention actors. *Jātaka* (Book 3,287) states that "of the four who thrive one is that who has the actors' tricks." Part IV, 102 (Book 22, No. 543) has the expression : "In a crowd, Nāgas look around to see whether any actor is nearby." In the *Kanavesa Jātaka* (Book 4, Part III) we have references to *naṭa*, *samāja-maṇḍalī* etc. Actresses accomplished in music and dance are referred to in the *Jātakas—naccagītavāditakuśalā.*[1] The *Khantivādī Jātaka* mentions the four constituent elements of the performing arts—viz. *gīta*, *vādya*, *nṛtta* and *nāṭya.*[2]

The *Mahāvastu* refers to several musical instruments. Drum, tabor, lyre, flute and cymbals were heard in the palace of Śuddhodana.[3] Several types of *viṇās* are mentioned viz. *nakula*, *sughoṣā*, *tuṇḍaka*, *vallakī*, etc.[4] The *Lalitavistara*[5] also mentions a number of musical instruments viz. *veṇu*, *vīṇā*, *nakula*, *sughoṣā*, *tuṇḍaka*, *caṇḍisaka*, *saṅbharikā*, *mahatī*, *vipañcikā*, *vallakī*, *ḍhakkā*, *paṭaha*, *paṇava*, *jharjharikā*, *āliṅgya*, *parivādinī*, etc. It also says that "In Rājagṛha, Maudgalyāyana and Upatisya showed their dramatic skill in spectacles and shows." Further, it says that under the direction of Gautama a drama was staged at Rājagṛha. Kauvalyā, the most reputed actress of the time, is said to have been transformed

into a hideous woman by the Buddha as she had seduced some monks. Courtezans like Ambapāli and Sālavatī, who were experts in singing, dancing and music, are well-known to Buddhist legends. The *Buddhacarita* of Aśvaghoṣa, too, has references to music. In Canto 4.37, a lady sings a sweet song (*madhuram gītam*) with gesticulations to bring out the sense (*anvartham kācitsābhinayom jagau*) of reproving his (Buddha's) indifference. This might be the *chalitaka*. This was a song-dance piece in which while enacting the part of another, one succeeds in expressing one's own real feelings. This work also refers to various musical instruments viz. *tūrya*[6] *mṛdaṅga*,[7] *viṇā*,[8] *mukunda*,[9] *muraja*,[10] *veṇu*,[11] *vaṁśa*, and *dundubhi*.[12] The *rukmapatracitrāṁ* ...*viṇām* (*ibid*., 5,48) was a *vīṇā* decorated with gold-leaf pattern. In Canto 2.30, the *mṛdaṅga* is said to be ornamented with gold bands (*cāmikarabaddhakakṣaiḥ*) and played by women with the foreparts of hands (*nārikarāgrabhirāhataiḥ*). About Harṣa, the Chinese traveller I-tsing informs us that he "versified the story of the Bodhisattva Jīmūtavāhana who surrendered himself in place of a Nāga."[13] Harṣa had this composition set to music and dance and had it performed by a company. The same source informs us that Harṣa also had Candradāsa Viśvāntara and Aśvaghoṣa's *Buddhacarita* versified and set to dance and music.[14] Harṣa is also said to have taken part in dramatic performances. This is quite possible, as already in the 3rd cent. B.C. Aśoka seems to have utilized the religious spectacles or tableau to impress the Buddhist faith on the people. Rock Edict Four says—*vimānadaṁsaṇā ca hastidaṁsaṇā ca aggikandhāni ca divyāni rūpāṇi dasayitvā*, i.e. "Having shown the people representations or spectacles (*rūpas*) of cars and palaces (*vimāna* has both the senses), elephants, fireworks or illuminations and other celestial things." The word *rūpa* here is possibly *rūpaka*, the Sanskrit term for drama, and is significant. Harṣa too, it seems, staged similar spectacles. Hiuen Tsang tells us that Harṣa took out a golden image of the Buddha in the procession with himself dressed as Indra and Kumārarāja (Bhāskaravarman ?) dressed as Brahmā.[15]

Buddhist art, too, depicts the fullest development of the performing arts. The Bharhut, Sāñcī and Amarāvatī stūpas have many dance-music scenes. The Bharhut pillar reliefs provide excellent examples of foot positions and body flexions. We come across the *kuñcita* foot and also, for the first time, the outward flexion of the knee, both of which were to become a characteristic feature of the dance poses later. Both the Culakokā devatā and the Sudarśanā Yakṣī show the *kuñcita* foot and *kṣipta* position of the knees. The Culakokā devatā holds the tree branch in her right *muṣṭi* or *śikhara*

hasta and her left arm clasps the trunk of the tree in a clearly defined *patākā hasta*. The right hand of the Sudarśanā Yakṣī is in *sūcimukha hasta* and the left hand is held near the hips in a *śikhara hasta*. The pose of the Yakṣī of the North Gate at Sāñcī is suggestive of the *aśvakrāntā sthāna* of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, even though it is not a full depiction of the *sthāna*. At yet another place at the same site (Sāñcī, East Gate Yakṣī) there is an accurate representation of the *baddhā cāri*. The crossing of the thighs of the *baddhā cāri* is clearly seen. The figure holds the branches of the trees in two *muṣṭi hasta* in *recita*. There has been much discussion on the *śālabhañjikā* and yakṣī motifs and quite a few have said that they are not figures of dances. One must, however, point out that "while these figures may or may not depict dancers, they do depict a movement of the dance or an aspect of it and their movement can be often analysed in terms of the *sthānas* or *cāris* of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*."[16]

Some of the scenes are quite dramatic in character. An important one, in the Bharhut stūpa on the West Gate corner jamb of the Ajātaśatru Pillar (2nd-1st cent. B.C.), depicts an interesting scene. The upper bas-relief depicts the Vaijayanta Palace and Sudharmā hall of ths gods of the thirty-three, with the scene of the cūḍāmaha. The lowest panel depicts four women dancing to an orchestra in which seven people take part. The arms of the three dancers are in stiff *latā hasta* and *patākā hasta mudrās*. The attitude of the fourth figure is significant for, apart from her two *patākā hastas* near the ears she bends her knees in an outward sideways position and here are the first beginnings of the *kṣipta* position of the knees which was to become a basic stance of classical dance styles of India in years to come. The Bharhut Panel, South Gate Prasenajit Pillar (2nd-1st cent. B C.), has a similar dance-music scene. Of the musical instruments in these scenes, one may note the harp-shaped (not lute-shaped) *vīṇā* played with the plectrum or *koṇa*. Of percussion instruments both the *ghana* i.e. cymbals and percussion i.e. *mṛdaṅga* may be seen. Of the *mṛdaṅgas*, one stands vertically—the *ūrdhvaka mṛdaṅga*—and the other, the *āṅkika*, lies horizontally on the lap. At Sāñcī, the West Pillar of the Northern Gateway is interesting from the point of view of musical instruments. There are two carved trumpets, a harp, little drums and tambourines. Particularly interesting is the double reed pipe of the type that is neither seen nor used in Indian music. Again, the drum beaten with sticks is an uncommon feature of Indian drumming at the classical levels.

At Amarāvatī, we have a profusion of songs and dances, which play an important part in the scenes of the worship of the Buddha

as well as in the courts and palaces of Nāga kings. Both the harp-shaped and the lute-shaped *viṇās* are seen. The *kṣipta* knee is not seen, but the crossing of the leg and the *kari hasta* is popular. In a scene on a medallion, male and female dancers, as many as twenty-two each, take part. The dance, devotional in aim, is vigorous in character. They dance around a central figure, (who carries the begging bowl) of either the Bodhisattva or the Buddha. They are all obviously in a great frenzy and seem to have lost themselves in the dance. At the bottom, two figures on either side are in the *vṛśc-ika karaṇa*, which Abhinavagupta prescribes for people who are overflowing with joy during the worship of their favourite deity. In another medallion (2nd cent. A.D), there is a well-known *nāṭya* scene, which narrates the story of the *Mugga Pakkha Jātaka*. Prince Siddhārtha and his father are witnessing a dance-music scene. There is an elaborate orchestra consisting of cymbals, conch-trumpets, a small drum, *mṛdaṅga*, and harp-like *viṇās* played with plectrum. The prima donna stands in the centre with one foot placed on a stool in front and the other extended backwards. She is perhaps enacting an *abhinaya* sequence. Another court scene (Railing Pillar, *Nāga Campaka Jātaka*) has a main figure surrounded by an elaborate orchestra. One lady is playing the flute, another a drum and yet another a *viṇā*. The *viṇā* is more akin to the later lute-shaped *viṇās* rather than the harp-shaped ones. The chief figure in the middle is that of a dancer. She wears a fine costume, which is cut and sewn, an *uttarīya* over her shoulders and an elaborate head-dress. Her right arm is in line with the shoulder and bent at the elbow. This hand is held in *patākā* or *tripatākā* at the shoulder. The left hand is held as *latā hasta*. The waist is twisted probably as *chinna kaṭi*. The legs cross at the hip level. In the panel depicting the Bodhisattva's Descent to Earth, Buddha symbolised by the white elephant descends from the Tuṣita Heaven borne by celestial dwarfs and surrounded by devas. There is a flute, a lute-shaped *viṇā* and cymbals. There is a male dancer (second from right) whose right leg crosses the left at the thigh level. The arms are a fairly accurate representation of the *kari hasta* of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. Yet another medallion scene shows a king, either Śuddhodana or Siddhārtha, with two senior queens and ladies of the harem. A drummist is playing the *tripuṣkara* drums, another is playing a small *āliṅgyaka* drum, one lady is playing the lute-shaped *viṇā*. and another the harp-shaped *viṇā* with fingers. The four dancing figures are interesting. The two upper symmetrical figures are an accurate representation of the *Bhujaṅgāñcita karaṇa* (*karaṇa* 40) of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*.

The leg position is the same. There is only a slight difference in the position of the arms. Even though one arm is accurately depicted as *recita*, the other is not a *latā hasta* as it should be. Instead it is flexed with the *abhaya patākā hasta* near the shoulder. The pose seems to anticipate the Naṭarāja pose even though it does not depict it fully as there are important differences. The two figures below depict the *latā vṛścika karaṇa* (*Karaṇa* 44) of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*.

Thus, despite the generally negative and other-worldly ethos of Buddhist monastic life, in course of time Buddhist monasteries exhibited the fullest development of not only the visual arts, but contributed in a prolific manner to the performing arts too.

Footnotes

1 Fausball; *Jātaka*, 2, p. 249.

2 *Gīta-vādita nacchesu ceka nāṭakakitthiyo gītādinī payojayinisu*, *Jātaka*, 3, 40.

3 *Mahāvastu*, Vol. II, tr. by J.J. Jones, pp. 139 and 148.

4 *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p 155.

5 *Lalitavistara*, Arts Number, 36, 37, 41 and 42; also *Lalitavistara*, R.L. Mitra's edn., p.252.

6 *Buddhacarita*, 1, 45; 2, 29. According to the *Jātakas tūrya* consists of a female *viṇā* player, a cymbal player, a *mṛdaṅga* player, a flute player and a hand clapper (*Nidāna-kathā Jātaka*, 1, 32). This means that the *tūrya* was an orchestra of *tāta* (string), *suṣira* (areophonic), *ghana* (idiophonic) and *avanaddha* (membranophonic) instruments.

7 *Buddhacarita*, 1, 45; 2, 30; 5, 50.

8 *Ibid.*, 1, 45; 5, 48.

9 *Ibid.*, 1, 45.

10 *Ibid.*, 1, 45.

11 *Ibid.*, 5, 49.

12 *Ibid.*, 8. 53.

13 See Takakusu's English tr. , p. 163.

14 *Ibid.*, p.165.

15 One may point out to the Burmese Buddhist pageants termed the *Nibhatkhin* depicting scenes from Buddha's life and the *Jātaka* birth stories. These pageants were shown on ordinary carts. Each cart carried a group of (amateur) actors standing still and representing a set scene. Maung Htin Aung, *Burmese Drama*. Perhaps the 'set scenes' of Harṣa were similar.

16 Vatsyayana K., *Classical Indian Dance in Literature and the Arts*, p. 34.

Chapter 16

The Concept of 'Rupa' and Buddhist Art

The present chapter essays a brief historical and hermeneutic enquiry in the context of Buddhist metaphysical usage and its relevance to Buddhist art and aesthetic.[1] In pre-Buddhistic usage *rūpa* generally had the sense of a perceptible form signifying something beyond it, that is, it had the sense of an expressive sign or symbol rather than of a self-contained or self-sufficient sensuous form. Buddhist metaphysical usage, on the other hand, appears to eliminate the sense of any invisible significance from *rūpa* and thus to downgrade it from the status of 'symbol' to that of plain sensuous content or matter. 'Form', thus, ceased to be the revelation of a hidden divinity; it turned into corruptible matter. This change of meaning from Vedic to early Buddhist usage is apparently consistent with the so-called anti-metaphysical tendency of early scholastic Buddhism. Nevertheless, it must be emphasized that the vast development of art, poetry, meditation and esoterism in the Buddhist tradition suggests that despite Abhidharmic metaphysics the Buddhists never ceased to be sensitive to the transcendental and imponderable significance of what is given in experience. Perhaps it may remind one of the current dissociation of sensibility between scientific empiricism and positivism, on the one hand, and existentialism and surrealism in literature and art, on the other. While Buddhist metaphysics deprecates *rūpa* as corruptible, Buddhist religious and aesthetic notions appreciate *rūpa* as a symbol or manifestation.

Turning to the earliest usage in the *Ṛk-saṁhitā*[2] we see that *rūpa* is a visible form through which an essentially invisible deity expresses itself creatively. This mysterious creative power behind *rūpa* is called *māyā*. The higher correlate of *rūpa* is *Vāk* or *Dhī*, 'seeing speech' or 'luminous sidea'. "*Vāk* alternating with *dhī*, is the power of making by wisdom and truth, creating, fashioning of forms. This creative power is superior to particular created forms, which not only reveal but also conceal."[3] In the *Brāhmaṇas* all *rūpas* are said to belong to the Divine Artificer who gained them from Fire. "In other words, all forms are originally contained in divine wisdom. The forms which man perceives, thus, are not phantasms

produced by the senses or the mind but created things rooted in reality."[4]

In the *Upaniṣads rūpa* is clearly a limited mode of manifestation. Thus *Kaṭha* elaborates the '*rūpaṁ rūpaṁ pratirūpaḥ*',[5] the *Chāndogya* mentions the three basic forms in which Being is manifested,[6] and the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* speaks of the two *rūpas* of *Brahman*.[7] As a manifestor *rūpa* can be the meditational door to the unmanifest essence of *Brahman*, though as a limited mode it can be, along with *nāma*, a delusive principle.

In the age of the *Vedāṅgas*, *rūpa* not only has the popular sense of visible form and colour but also the abstract, scientific sense of form as may be evidenced from Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī*.[8] Its use for 'representation' was popular enough for it to form the common word for coins then beginning to be used.

Thus when Buddhism first arose in India, '*rūpa*' was used not only in common discourse but also in specialized discourses acquiring scientific and metaphysical senses. It signified visible form, colour and shape, symbolic representation or image as in meditation or coinage, abstract paradigm or form as in grammatical theory, expressive or quasi-expressive mode as in Upaniṣadic metaphysics, creative form or analogy as in poetry. Of these, two meanings appear to have influenced Buddhist usage most viz., the popular and the Upaniṣadic. Popularly *rūpa* was colour and shape, in Vedic-Upaniṣadic metaphysics the sensible stuff of the phenomenal world just as its correlate *nāman* signified the nameable or intelligible stuff of the world. Together Name and Form, *nāma-rūpa*, signified the modal aspect of reality.[9]

Buddha is believed to have addressed his audience in Māgadhī allowing them to remember his teachings in their own dialect.[10] As a genuine Māgadhī canon no longer exists and as the existing versions of the canon are later than the Buddha representing a considerable period of development,[11] there is no hope of discovering Buddha's own linguistic usage. Nevertheless, the standardized usage in canonical writings may be expected to have been fashioned out of an original usage not too far from the Buddha through a process of philosophical definition.

It has been argued that originally the Buddhist usage of *rūpa* rested on its contrast with *dhamma*.[12] *Dhamma* was the principle of supersensuous and eternal reality while *rūpa* was that of impermanent, empirical reality. This use of *dhamma* has been compared to the Upaniṣadic *Brahman*,[13] which naturally suggests that *rūpa* should correspond to Upaniṣadic *nāma-rūpa*. In fact, in the ancient formula

of *Paṭiccasamuppāda* '*nāma-rūpa*' occurs as the 'support' of *Viññāṇa*.[14] However, in the prevailing context of Pāli Theravāda *Viññāṇa* was subsumed in *nāma-rūpa* which was equated to the five *khandhas*. At the same time *Dhamma* in the singular tended to be used mainly for 'doctrine' while *dhammā* in the plural came to signify all impermanent elements or phenomena.[15] The contrast between *dhamma-dhātu* and *rūpa-dhātu*, however, remained. But the Upaniṣadic *Brahman-nāma-rūpa* contrast as one between eternal being and transient appearance ceased to be paralleled by the *dhamma-rūpa-nāma-rūpa* contrast. Early Buddhist thought concentrates on the transience of all empirical elements sought to be understood in terms of an immanent causal law rather than of any transcendent and eternal ground. Thus *rūpa* came to be understood principally in terms of *dhātu**, *āyatana* and *khandha*. As *dhātu**, *loka* or *avacara* it stood between *kāma* and *arūpa* and signified the meditational worlds of the first three *dhyānas*.[16] As *āyatana* or sphere it signified the visible form of objects, i. e., colour and shape.[17] As *khandha* it signified forms of matter and material products.[18]

Despite this diversity of usage the sense of 'form' is ubiquitous as proved by the Chinese translation of *rūpa* by '*se*' (see 'Clarifiction' on page 165).[19] It is contrasted not with body but with formlessness which is available in the meditational realms of empty space, nothingness, pure consciousness or borderline consciousness. Thus *rūpa* appears to signify the determinate forms of matter and material bodies. As matter *rūpa* is principally though not wholly equated to the five senses and the corresponding sensibilia.[20] Its defining characteristics are determinateness in space and time, ('It is here now') and resistance, i e., it is *sanidarśana* and *sapratigha*.[21] Contrasted with this sensuous realm is the non-sensuous realm of *manas*, *dharma-dhātu* and *manovijñāna-dhātu* as well as the eternal realm of the *asaṁskṛta*.

Rūpa, thus, is conceived as an instantaneous phenomenon dependent on sensory activity. The conception of such instantaneousness, however, showed some metaphysical instability. Since the phenomena are classifiable and recurrent, one was led to postulate corresponding elements and characters (*dharma-svabhāva*, *dharma-lakṣaṇa*) but what then was the status of past and future elements ? Should not one distinguish the nature of an element from its actual occurrence ?[22] If the Sarvāstivādins tended to readmit substance through the backdoor, Sautrāntika iconoclasm prepared the way for the Vijñānavāda demolition of matter.[23] Some kind of a phenomenalistic idealistic reduction of 'matter' appeared unavoidable.

For the *Upaniṣads nāma-rūpa* signified the fleeting appearance of what is eternally real. For the early Buddhists fleeting *nāma-rūpa* constituted the sole reality since they denied what is not given in experience.[24] '*Nopalabhyate*' constituted for them a sufficient disproof of any transcendent substance.[25] This was doubtless an effective move against the vogue of Upaniṣadic eternalism but could not afford a popularly satisfying basis for Buddhist religion and ethics. Morality demands a continuing identity between work and deserts.[26] Religious salvation conceived as the simple annihilation of experience could hardly attract many. It was natural, then, for Buddhist religion to centre round the adoration of the Founder himself. Faith in the Buddha was one of the Three Jewels as attested by Aśoka himself.[27] Even though the physical body of the Buddha was sometimes declared as merely corruptible (*pūtikāya*) and emphasis laid on his Doctrinal Body (*dharmakāya*),[28] this did not commend itself to all. Several sects reintroduced the transcendent in some form or the other. Among these may be mentioned the Mahāsāṅghikas, the Lokottaravādins, the Caityakas etc.[29] Among other things the Buddha was conceived as supramundane, constituted by pure elements.[30] His physical body too is pure and unlimited.[31] It is in fact only apparitional, the projection of human form. The dividing line between mind and matter, *citta* and *rūpa*, seems to disappear. *Rūpakāya* becomes *Nirmāṇakāya*.[32] In other words, the material body of the Buddha is not a corruptible substance but a mere form or appearance through which a supermundane Being manifests himself. The Dārṣṭāntikas explicity visualized the possibility of *rūpa* being undefiled or *anāsrava*.[33] Even the Sautrāntikas held that *rūpa* and *citta* are mutually *bījas*.[34]

Rūpa thus tended to be assimilated to *citta* and was recognized as a possible vehicle for the manifestation of what essentially transcended it. With the recognition that the material body of the Buddha is only an image projected by him, the way is theoretically opened for the creation of the Buddha image in art.[35] Thus although the metaphysics of several early Buddhist schools tended to degrade *rūpa* to merely corruptible matter, the development of a devotional Buddhology in the transititional schools to Mahāyāna discovered the symbolic or significant aspect of *rūpa* as manifestation, apparition or image and thus contributed to the development of Buddhist plastic art.

Footnotes

1 The idea of Buddhist aesthetics is relatively new. Vide G.C.

Pande, 'Reflections on Aesthetics from a Buddhist Point of View', *Buddhist Studies,* Delhi University, May, 1977; Anupa Pande, 'Buddhism, Theatre Architecture', paper presented in International Seminar (March. 1989) at the Research Institute of Buddhist Studies, Sarnath.

2 "*Nabho na rūpaṁ jarimā mināti*" (1.71.10). "*Tveṣam rūpaṁ kṛṇute*" (1.95.8). "*Atra te rūpam uttamam apaśyam*" (1.163.7). "*Viśvam eko abhicaṣṭe śacībhir dhrājir ekasya dadṛśe na rūpam*" (1.164.44). "*Ni māyino mamire rūpam asmin*" (3.38.7)). "*Rūpaṁ rūpaṁ pratirūpo babhūva tadasya rūpam praticakṣaṇāya/Indra māyābhiḥ puru-rūpa īyate*" (6.47.18). "*Sa Kaviḥ Kāvyā Purū rūpaṁ-dyaur iva puśyati*" (8.41.5). "*Kaviḥ Kavitvā divi rūpam āśayat*" (10.124.7). "*Ghoṣā idasya śṛṇvire na rūpam*" (1.168.4).

3 G.C. Pande, *Foundations of Indian Culture*, 1984, Vol. I, p. 324.

4 *Ibid.*, p.325.

5 *Kaṭha Upa.*, 2.69-10.

6 *Chāndogya Upa.*, 6.4.

7 *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upa.*, 2.3.1.

8 Pāṇini, *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, 3.1.25, 6.3.85; 1.1.68.

9 Cf. *Bṛ.*, 1.4.7.

10 *Vinaya, Cullavgga* (Nālandā), 1956, p. 229—*Anujānāmi, bhikkkhave, sakāya niruttiyā Buddhavacanam pariyāpuṇītam ti.*

11 Cf. G.C. Pande, *Studies in the Origins of Buddhism*, pp. 12-16.

12 On Schayer's view cf. *IHQ*, Vol. VII, 1936.

13 Geiger, *Dhamma und Brahman*

14 E.g., *Digha*, sutta 15, *Saṁyutta*, *nidāna*, suttas 38-40.

15 Cf. Rosenberg, *Die Probleme der buddhistischen philosophie*, German trans., Hiedelberg, p.83.

16 *Abhidharmakośavyākhyā*, Patna, 1975, pp. 20-21.

17 *Ibid.*, pp. 5-6.

18 *Abhidharmakośam*, Varanasi, 1970. Vol. I, p.30.

19 E.g., *Mahāvyutpatti*, Tokyo, 1959; Soothill, *Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms*, London, 1957, esp. p. 220a.

20 *Abhidharma*, 1.9. Here reference is by Chap. and verse.

21 *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*, pp. 9, 16.

22 Cf. Stcherbatsky, *Central Conception of Buddhism*, Delhi, 1983.

23 Cf. Vasubandhu, *Vijñapatimātratā-Viṁśikā*, *Vv.* 11-15.

24 Cf. Bareau, *Les sectes bouddhiques du petit vehicule*, Saigon, 1955, p. 137.

25 This is strikingly illustrated in the *Kathāvatthu* in its debate against the *Puggalavāda*. P.T.S. edn., Vol. I, pp. 1-69.

26 The classical argument for continued identity is that it is necess-

ary to avoid the faults of *kṛta-praṇāśa* and *akṛtābhyāgamaḥ*. Cf. *Milinda-pañho*, Bombay, 1940, pp. 42-51.

27 Cf. Aśoka's Bhabru Edict.

28 Cf. N. Dutt, *Aspects of Mahāyāna Buddhism*, pp. 99-100; La Vallee Poussin, *Le Museon*, 1913, pp. 259-90.

29 Vide A. Bareau, *Les sectes bouddhiques du petit vehicule*; N. Dutt *Early Monastic Buddhism*, Vol. I, Calcutta, 1941; Vol. II, Calcutta, 1945; G.C. Pande, *Bauddha Dharma ke Vikās kā Itihās*, 1990.

30 Bareau, *op. cit*., pp. 57 ff.

31 *Ibid., l.c*.

32 Cf. M.M. Gopinath Kaviraj on the idea of *Nirmāṇakāya*, *Saraswati Bhawan Studies*, Vol. I, pp. 47-57, ed. Dr. G. N. Jha, Vol. I, 1922.

33 Bareau, *op. cit*., p. 160.

34 *Ibid*., p. 158.

35 Coomaraswamy has discussed the subject. Vide, e.g., his *Figure of Speech or Figure of Thought*, London, 1946.

A Clarification

P. 3 色 is said to have been derived from a man and a seal. The colour of the face arises from feelings as the stamp reproduces the seal. Hence '*se*' was used for the flushing of the face, thence for colour—L. Wieger, *Chinese Characters*, New York, 1965, p.83. So the Buddhists used it for *rūpa*, *varṇa*—P.C. Bagchi, *Deux Lexiques Sanskrit-Chinois*, tome II, p. 520. Thus

色身 was used for material body or *rūpa kāya*, and

色界 for 'would of vision' i. e., *rūpa-dhātu*—Cf. Mathew's *Chinese-English Dictionary*, Harvard University Press, 1947, p. 751. Thus

色 evolved from its original sense of the colour of the face showing emotion to colour, form, and body. Its original sense made it an expression of the heart but it tended towards reification as the body which appears visibly. It is thus an apt rendering of *rūpa* with its duality.

Chapter 17

The Influence of the Jatakas on the Origin and Development of Burmese Drama

The roots of Burmese drama may be traced to Buddhism and Buddhist literature. Buddhism had been introduced into the country by the Tailang kingdom of Thaton through commercial relations with India. By the 3rd-4th cent., Thaton had become an important trading centre and by the 5th cent. A.D. the Tailangs began to receive religious writings in Pāli. Yet at that time Buddhism did not take firm roots. This was possible only with the rise of the Pagan kingdom, and the accession to the throne of Anawrahta in 1044 A.D. Due to the influence of the learned monk Shin Arhan, Buddhism, in one of its purest forms was introduced into the kingdom by Anawrahta. With it, writing was also introduced. The alphabet was the 'Square Pāli' and the literature introduced included the three Piṭakas embodying all the religious teachings in Pāli. The religion of the Burmese before this reintroduction of Buddhism in 1056 A.D. was mostly animistic and they worshipped, various spirits known as *Nats.* There were mediums, mostly women, who danced to please the spirits.

Ridgeway has traced the origin and development of Burmese drama in three main stages.[1] Firstly, the impersonation of the *Nats* by mediums.[2] Secondly, the true dramatic elements borrowed from the Indian historical plays of Rāma. Thirdly, the drama based on the Indian models with Buddhist themes. The roots of Burmese drama cannot, however, be traced to the first two stages. The *Nats* danced to please the spirits, and, with the advance of clvilization, the spirit dances became elaborate. Now, the medium or each particular *Nat* dressed herself in appropriate clothes. The spirit dances did have a dramatic element, but such an element also existed in various Burmese folk feasts, such as the Buddhist feast of the month of Tazaungmon.[3] Ridgeway had no information regarding them. Though the spirit dances made some contribution to the rise of drama, it cannot be said that drama developed out of those dances. True drama resulted only from the presentation of religious stories, i.e. Buddhist *Jātaka* stories known as *Nibhatkhin*, enacted by amateurs.[4] The *Rāmāyaṇa* came to Burma quite late and by

that time Burmese drama, by way of the Buddhist *Jātaka* stories, had already taken roots. The 'Rāma Play' was introduced in Burma through Siam in the 18th century. The play was to both nations a *Jātaka* story. The Burmese equivalent of the English word 'play' was still uncoined.[5] They called 'the Rāma Play' a *Zat*, a derivative from *Jātaka*. *Zat* had, by then, come to mean a story, it could mean any story, though to distinguish it from a Birth Story, *Hto-Zat* (made up *Zat*) was used to denote a non-*Jātaka* story. However, *Zat* did not include fables, moral tales, legends or fairy tales. The fact that they termed the 'Rāma Story' a *Zat* itself suggests that it was believed to be a *Jātaka* story. Indeed, when the 'Rāma Play' reached the people, they thought it to be a specimen of the *Nibhatkhin* or *Jātaka*-shown-as-pageant, and called it *Rāmakhin* or Rāma-shown-as pageant.

With regard to the Burmese drama, although the elements of the dramatic art existed in the worship of the spirits and in various folk customs and folk feasts, the origin of the true drama was in the Buddhist religious pageants and the *Nibhatkhin*, based on Buddha's life and the *Jātakas*. The *Jātaka* was an artistic and finished short story. It was religious and concerned itself with a moral, but the moral suggested itself and was not pointed out. The artistic qualities of the *Jātaka* did not suffer because it was never pointedly didactic. Moreover, a *Jātaka* always contained some interpretation of life, a view of life from a different standpoint. The *Jātaka* stories were numerous and they were concerned with all classes of society and all classes of events and as such provided excellent dramatic material.

After the fall of the kingdom of Pagan in 1257 A.D., Burma was involved in fierce civil wars, but the trouble was mainly in the capitals; in the villages and small towns life went on in its joyous way. Religion continued to spread in spite of adverse circumstances. Learning began to reach the remotest part of the country, carried far and near by monks. This religious learning made even stronger the already strong religious fervour. As a result, at village feasts and on days of public rejoicing, the people turned towards religion for entertainment. So pageants depicting scenes from the life of Buddha and from the *Jātakas* came into being.

Pageants were shown on ordinary carts. Each cart carried a group of (amateur) actors standing still and representing a set scene.[6] Originally, it seems, that there were only a few carts representing scenes from different stories. Later, a pageant came to consist of many carts and many scenes. Still later, the scenes came to

be taken from one story only, so that a whole story was given by the pageant. Dresses became gorgeous and the scheme elaborate. The pageant now needed organization. Therefore, the village came to be divided into two parts, eastern and western quarters or northern and southern quarters (the village was usually greater in length than breadth, being, built along a main road). In large villages and towns, the division was into four quarters. Each quarter was responsible for the production of a pageant. There was intense rivalry between the quarters to produce the finest pageant. This rivalry further developed the pageant, for new ideas would be introduced by one quarter to outrival the others. Soon the pageant became a play, its scenes coming to life.

The *Nibhatkhin* was the pageant come to life. With the pageant the religious processions went along the main streets without stopping, each cart representing a set scene. But with the *Nibhatkhin*, each cart stopped at certain places. The most common of such places were the market place, the house of the chief administrative officer, and the pagoda where the procession ended. At each of these places, each cart stopped and the scene came to life. Dialogue and action were used. Therefore, people at the stopping places saw, what in effect was a play.

The *Nibhatkhin* was extremely popular and continued for long, dying out only in the present century. As regards the characters of the *Nibhatkhin*, the villain in the Birth Stories was a previous incarnation of Devadatta (who repeatedly tried to harm the Buddha but who came to be a humorous and popular character). At first, none of the characters was made humorous, for they all came out of religious stories. The *Lu-byet* ('the non-serious man') was put into the *Nibhatkhin* as an extra character, an attendant on the prince-hero. He was extremely popular and soon another such attendant on the princess-heroine was introduced. The *Lu-byet* made up his own part, he invented his own dialogue, and made up his jokes as the play moved along. However, even with the *Nibhatkhin*, he was not allowed to interfere with the movement of the play and its story. He played and joked at the beginning of the first scene when the actual story had not began and sometimes gave an outline of the story and its sources and information regarding the production of the procession and the play. He was the most privileged person among the actors, for he alone could, without offence, laugh at, and satirize all things and all persons.

However, the *Nibhatkhin* was far from being a comic play. There was a convention with regard to the presentation of religious

characters. The Buddha was never to be represented on stage. Stories about him upto the time he actually attained Buddhahood could be presented, but no one should impersonate him when he had become the Buddha. It was soon followed by another convention that the character of an *arhat* (saint) should not be presented unless it was absolutely necessary, and then only when the part was to be played by an able and serious actor who must be actually keeping a fast on the day and night the *Nibhatkhin* was being presented. As a person keeping a fast has to behave in a dignified manner, it prevented the part from being turned into a humorous one. To the conservative Burmese Buddhist, professional acting was a sin, and to get over the difficulty, the idea came into being that the play was only a species of preaching the religion.

The *Nibhatkhin* was essentially a religious show presented in connection with religious festivals; the conservatism of the village, the dislike of the amateur actors to be in any way profane or thought to be so and the limited scope of the stories and characters restricted further development of the religious drama.

Because of its limited development, in the course of time, another form of entertainment became rapidly popular. This was the *Hawsa* or the dramatic reading and recital of a Birth Story in verse.[7] The *Hawsa* was in dialogue form and the reciter changed his voice and used dramatic gestures. The reciter was an accomplished verse writer if not a poet, and when reciting pieces he himself had not written, he invariably put in additions and modifications. He knew Pāli and, therefore, could read the *Jātakas* in the original. While the actor was looked down upon, the reciter was greatly respected. With all the differences, however, the reciter and the actor were akin to each other and both contributed much to the rise of the developed play.

Along with the *Hawsa*, there was yet another dramatic form, 'the Interlude',[8] which drew inspiration from the *Jātakas*. The 'Interlude' came into being by borrowing freely from the *Nibhatkhin* based on a Buddhist Birth Story, but it was also influenced by the Rāma Play and Burmese court plays. Unlike the *Hawsa* (which was a literary work) the actors were unlettered, unpractised in verse composition, and only knew the *Jātaka* Birth Stories from translations. Although the stories were *Jātaka* stories and there was an undercurrent of religious teaching, the 'Interlude' was not fully religious, nor was it fully secular. As far as the inspiration of the Rāma Play is concerned it should be remembered that it was taken to be founded entirely on a *Jātaka*, but the court plays gave it a

secular touch. However, it continued to draw inspiration from the Birth Stories.

Just as the Epics, the *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata*, inspired many Sanskrit dramatists in India, so also the *Jātakas* in Burma.[9] The reasons were many. The prejudice against secular dancing and acting as being sinful was strong and the only way to overcome it was to retain the idea that the drama preached religion in some ways. The most common occasions for the presentation of such drama were religious feast days. Out of respect for those occasions the story had to be religious. Last, but not the least, was the immense popularity of the *Jātaka* stories. Thus, not only the origin but also the development of the drama proper in Burma may be traced to the *Jātakas*.

Footnotes

1 Sir William Ridgeway's chapter on Burmese drama in *Drama and Dramatic Dances of Non-European Races.*

2 Harvey, G.E., *History of Burma*; Temple, R.C., *The Thirty-seven Nats*; Grant, Browns, 'The Pre-Buddhist Religion of the Burmese', in *Folk Lore*, 1921.

3 The Feast on the Full Moon of the month of Tazaungmon (which occurs in November) is an important Buddhist festival, special celebrations connected with its date have the distinct element of mimicry. Village men dress themselves as animals wearing appropriate masks and dance through the village.

4 Maung Htin Aung, *Burmese Drama*, pp. 6 ff. (Pub. Oxford Univ. Press).

5 The term *Pya-zat* or 'shown story' later on came to denote a play. It is impossible to ascertain when and by whom the word was first coined but it is certain that the term came into use only about the time of U Kyin U (19th cent.) to denote developed plays.

6 I venture to suggest that this tradition may have been an ancient one and, in fact, may have been imported from India. One may recall the religious processions taken out on carts by Harṣavardhana in the 7th cent. A.D. It seems that in them religious scenes were depicted. Hiuen Tsang says that there were costumes and make-up and Harṣa himself participated in it along with his protéges.

7 Some specimens of the *Hawsa* are given in the *Anthology of Burmese Literature*.

8 Maung Htin Aung, *Burmese Drama*, p. 11f.

9 There are hundreds of birth stories, but the most important are the *Ten Big Jātakas,* which are much longer than the rest. Dramatists, whether of medieval or modern period, drew inspiration from them. The great dramatist Shin U Awbatha (18th cent.) wrote Burmese prose versions of the eight longest of these and closely followed the Pāli originals.

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